# JOINT USI – N C M E S SEMINAR 2001

ESTABLISHED 1870

## REGIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION, N M D SYSTEM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS, AND BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND EGYPT

PROCEEDINGS OF JOINT USI - N C M E S SEMINAR

HELD AT

USI, NEW DELHI
ON
27-28 DEC 2001

**First Session**
*Regional Security Perspectives* -- Chairman
Ambassador Ahmed Haggag
Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs

**Second Session** -- Chairman
*Globalisation, International Intervention and State Sovereignty* Shri CR Gharekhan, IFS (Retd)

**Third Session** -- Chairman
*WMD, Missiles, NMD, TMD Systems and Their Implications for International Security* Professor M Zuberi

**Fourth Session** -- Ambassador Omran El-Shafei
*Bilateral Relations Including Joint Efforts for Revival of the Non-Aligned Movement* Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs

## UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION OF INDIA
**Rao Tula Ram Marg, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi-110 057**

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# THE PARTICIPANTS

**Mr Rajendra Madhukar Abhyankar** is from the diplomatic service. He has wide experience in bilateral and multilateral work with UNCTAD, GATT, UNIDO and the EEC/EU. He has held several important assignments such as Deputy High Commissioner of India in Sri Lanka; High Commissioner of India to Cyprus; Joint Secretary Ministry of External Affairs (MEA); Ambassador to Syria, Turkey; Non Resident Ambassador to the Republic of Azerbaijan; Consul General of India in San Francisco. Currently he is Special Secretary (East) in the MEA.

**Major General Moukhtar El Fayoumi (Retd)** has an engineering degree in electronics. He has served in the Egyptian Armed Forces in different technical posts and then in different hierarchical command levels in the Air Defence Forces. He has also served in military technical information research centre and has represented the Egyptian Ministry of Defence in the ARCS working group. He is now working with the National Centre for Middle East Studies.

**Ambassador Chinmaya R Gharkehan** has been the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, New York from 1986-1992. He has also been the Under Secretary General, United Nations, from 1993-1999.

**Ambassador Ms Arundhati Ghose** is a retired Indian Foreign Service Officer. Among her numerous postings, she has also been the Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, Permanent Representative to UNESCO in Paris, Ambassador of India in Egypt, and Permanent Representative of India to the UN offices in Geneva and the Conference on Disarmament - UN Headquarters. At present she is a Member of the Union Public Service Commission. She is also Senior Associate at National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore; Member Policy Advisory Committee, World Intellectual Property Organisation; General Member in the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament.

**Ambassador Ahmed Haggag** is the Secretary General of Africa Society in Egypt and is a Member of the Board of the Institute of African Studies, Cairo University. Before joining the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, where he served as the Director of African Affairs, and as Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was with the League of Arab States. He has also held the post of Secretary General of the Egyptian Fund for Technical Cooperation with Africa. He has also been the Ambassador of Egypt to Kenya and Seychelles. He was elected three times by the African Heads of State and Government as OAU Assistant Secretary General. He is the man behind the African Commission for Human and Peoples Rights and the establishment of the African Court on Human Rights. His present position also includes his role as National Coordinator of the Project for Capacity Building in Human Rights. He is also the Advisor to the Union of African Journalists. He has represented his country in many conferences and has authored several books on Palestine, the Middle East and Africa.

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**Air Marshal Bharat Kumar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)** is a Fighter Combat Leader and has flown all types of fighters in the Indian Air Force including MiG 29 and Mirage 2000. He has commanded a MiG Squadron and two premier bases of the IAF including the one equipped with Mirage 2000. He took part in the Indo-Pak Wars of 1965 and 1971. He also has an instructional tenure at the Defence Services Staff College to his credit. He is one of the few Indian officers to have attended the General Staff Course at Varshillov General Staff Academy at Moscow. He was also deputed to the Government of Iraq as a Flying Instructor for a period of two years. He also held the appointment of Air Officer Commanding, HQ Maritime Air Operations. Of the numerous staff appointments both at Command and Air Headquarters, he has held the important posts of Director of Operations (Aircraft Induction), Director Plans and Assistant Chief of Air Staff (Inspection) at Air HQ besides being Air-I of an operational command. He has been Senior Air Staff Officer of South Western Air Command before taking over as Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Air Command.

**Mr Rakesh Kumar** is from the diplomatic service. He is currently the Additional Secretary (West Asia / North Africa), MEA.

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**Lieutenant General B S Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)** is former Chief of Staff Western Command. He has held various posts, the major ones being those of Brigade Commander during Sino-Indian confrontation at Sumdo Rong-Wangdung in Arunachal Pradesh; Defence and Military Advisor, UK; GOC Independent Division Northern Command; Joint Secretary (Mil) and Secretary Chiefs of Staff Committee in the Ministry of Defence; Director General NCC. He reactivated "Inter Services Equipment Planning Committee" and "Joint Services Intelligence Board" when he was the Jt Secy (Mil) and Secy COSC. He represented India at the UN Conference in the UK in 1993; Commonwealth War Graves Commission, which is working in 147 countries; the Imperial War Museum Trust; and the World Youth discussion in Canada.

**Rear Admiral K Raja Menon (Retd)** is a submariner by specialisation and pioneered the development of the new arm in India. He was posted on submarine assignments to the UK, the erstwhile USSR and Germany. He retired from the Navy as Assistant Chief of Naval Staff (Operations) in which job he was responsible for formulating strategy. He was head of Naval Command, Control and Communication Committee and was member of the Armed Forces computerised Command and Control Centre. He is a visiting lecturer at India's Defence Services Staff College, the Foreign Service Training Institute, the National Defence College and the Naval Higher Command Course.

**Brigadier Vijai K Nair, VSM (Retd)** has had a distinguished Service career that includes his experience as Instructor at Defence

Services Staff College, command of an independent Armoured Brigade and a stint as Deputy Director General Strategic Planning at the Directorate of Perspective Planning at Army Headquarters. He was also a member of the Army Experts Committee; Staff officer to the Committee on Defence Expenditure and head of numerous trial teams for evaluation of tactical, strategic, logistic and equipment management suitability of a wide range of tanks, anti tank missiles. He is currently the Executive Director and Life Trustee on the Governing Body of the Forum for Strategic and Security Studies, New Delhi.

**Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd),** was commissioned as an infantry officer in the Indian Army in December 1957. He has seen active service in Jammu and Kashmir, participated in counter insurgency operations in the North East and in the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak Wars. He has commanded two battalions of the Maratha Light Infantry, raised and commanded a mechanised brigade, and later a mechanised division. A graduate of the Australian Staff College, he served with an Indian Army training team in Iraq, and as Military Advisor at the Indian High Commission in London. He was the Director General Military Operations at Army Headquarters at New Delhi. He was deputed as the first Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1993. He retired as the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff on 31 August 1994.Currently he is Director of the USI.

**Lieutenant General V R Raghavan, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM (Retd)** made significant contribution to strategic planning and field force management of the Army as Director General of Military Operations. He was closely involved in the formulation of the Sino-Indian Accord on maintaining peace on the borders and in the series of negotiations with Pakistan on the Siachen Glacier dispute. As Chief of Staff, Northern Army Command he played an important part in evolving the policy of combining effective anti militant operations with administrative and humanitarian support to the affected population. He has first hand experience of counter insurgency operations in the North Eastern states of India. He is a visiting lecturer at the principal Defence Service Colleges in India. He graduated from the Royal Military College of Science and the Army Staff College. A writer of books and monographs, he is currently Director in the Delhi Policy Group, an autonomous think-tank.

**Ambassador Omran El-Shafei** is from the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.He has been the Counsellor of the Egyptian Permanent Mission to the United Nations; he was Ambassador of Egypt to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Permanent Representative of Egypt to the European Office of the UN in Geneva and headed the Egyptian delegation to the Conference on Disarmament. He retired as Assistant Foreign Minister. Presently he is a member of the UN Advisory Board for Disarmament Matters (through appointment by the Secretary General of the UN).

**Professor Matinuzzaman Zuberi** was Senior Fellow in Disarmament Studies and later Chairman, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has been a Member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations Conference on Relations between Disarmament and Development, 1987;

Government of India's nominee for the Indian Council of Social Science Research's Council; Indian Council of Historical Research and the Academic Committee of the National Defence Academy. He has also been a member of the Indian delegation to discus measures to reduce nuclear risk in Islamabad in 2001. He is a contributor to the Encyclopaedia Britannica. He has been a Member of the National Security Advisory Board.

# APPROACH PAPER

## USI - NCMES SEMINAR

# REGIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION, NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENCE SYSTEM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS AND BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND EGYPT

## 27-28 DECEMBER 2001

## Introduction

In the post-Cold War era, security encompasses the diverse strands of political, economic and military capability with greater focus on the economic dimension within the ambit of increasing globalisation and the free-market economy. However, mere economic indicators are inadequate. A nation must harmonise its political and military capabilities and further broaden the spectrum by including the societal, the technological and the environmental aspects.

## International Terrorism

The hijacking of aircraft and bombing of the twin towers at the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington by international terrorists on 11 September 2001 has brought into sharp focus the extent to which the scourge of terrorism has spread globally. A number of innocent lives have been lost besides damage to institutional infrastructures and tremendous economic burden. Based on media reports, the finger of suspicion points towards Osama Bin Laden's set up, dominated by Saudis, Yemenis, Pakistanis and Egyptians with a smaller number of Algerians, Tunisians, Libyans, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians and Iraqis. Osama Bin Laden is the leader of the 'International Islamic Front for Jehad

against the USA and Israel'. As per media reports, the Front comprises 12 Jehadi organisations - three of Egypt, three of Pakistan, two of Uzbekistan, one of Xinjiang province of China, one of Southern Phillipines, Al Qaeda of Bin Laden and Taliban in Afghanistan. Of the 12 Jehadi organisations of this Front, nine are banned in their countries of origin. However, two organisations of Pakistan, and the Taliban of Afghanistan are free from legal curbs. The epicentre of this 'International Terrorist Network' lies in Pakistan- Afghanistan in Southern Asia. A campaign led by the USA is being set in motion. The International Terrorist Networks and their epicentres are likely to be the targets. Thus, a period of turmoil can be forecast. However, there is a need for the international community to join hands, work out norms and fight the scourge of terrorism with grit and determination and ensure safety and security of innocent people. In the meantime, the UN Security Council adopted a comprehensive anti-terrorism resolution on 28 September 2001, which authorises use of force against terrorists and their political and military supporters. Invoking Chapter VII of the UN Charter the resolution makes it mandatory on all 189 member states to crack down on financing, training and movement of terrorists.

## International Intervention

The fragmentation of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into several independent countries has led to a debate over the evolving nature of the international system with serious implications for the interventionist practices particularly by some big powers. An example is the handling of the Kosovo situation and the manner in which the United Nations was ignored and bypassed. It was apparently done deliberately in order to preclude exercise of veto by Russia and possibly by China. NATO, a military alliance comprising most of the developed countries of the Western World, resorted to air strikes and bombing in Yugoslavia on 24 March 1999. There is a view that it transgressed state sovereignty norms and resorted to indiscriminate destruction of infrastructure and killing of innocent civilians. There is a need to deliberate over the implications of such a venture. Foreign military intervention can only worsen matters. Issues such as the human rights violations, child labour, narcotics trade, religious fundamentalism and so on can be made pretexts for intervention. Such an international order does not augur well for the international community and breeds a sense of insecurity amongst nation states. Such pretensions have provoked apprehension and hostility among political and intellectual elites internationally.

In the post-Cold War era, there is a need for building international consensus before any intervention, under the aegis of the United Nations. A critical element of this approach should be the recognition of the valuable role to be played by the various organs of the UN. To illustrate the point, in the case of Cambodia, for example, the UN served as an indispensable forum for securing the October 1991 agreement in preparation for the UN-supervised elections in 1993. Similarly, approval from the UN Security Council was extremely helpful in securing a truly international coalition against Iraq. It is felt that interventionist practices where inescapable should be based upon international law to promote a legitimacy within the international system.

## Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and National Missile Defence (NMD)

The doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction based on the WMD which prevailed during the Cold War, is now buried along with the former USSR. However, the salience of the nuclear weapon, and the missile it is lashed onto, have not lost their lustre. WMD continue to be the currency of power in the international arena. The nuclear weapon cannot be divorced from the delivery system - the long range missile - and it may be argued that the WMD profile that includes the weapon and the delivery system constitutes a major determinant of the military capability. There are only a certain number of states that have proven weapon capability either within the Non-Proliferation Treaty framework or outside of it. These include the USA, Russia, China, France and the UK. They are the permanent members of the UN Security Council, and are the acknowledged five Nuclear Weapon States(NWS). India, Pakistan and Israel are the *de facto* states with nuclear weapons (SNWs). The next category is that of the aspirants as per the current profile and intent, and include Iraq, Iran, North Korea and Libya.

The degree to which, five NWS, three SNW and four aspirant nuclear states relate to our region directly by geographic location or in terms of strategic interface is of relevance to us. The levels of WMD interaction are discernible at different levels.

For instance, the US intent to pursue the NMD programme will evoke protests from both Moscow and Beijing which will impact upon the nature of relationship between the three autonomous WMD powers, ie the USA, Russia and China. This turbulence will have a linear impact in terms of how China's response will affect the region. A hypothetical scenario is that if the US pushes ahead with the NMD and enhances its own strategic posture, thereby degrading the mutual deterrence that now exists among the three major players, then Beijing may well respond by increasing both the quantity and quality of its WMD arsenal. What impact will the improved Chinese WMD capability have on the countries of the region and their posture?

The Strategic Defence Initiative, the progenitor of the NMD initiative, was conceived by the Reagan and Bush (Sr) Administrations partly with a view to forcing the USSR into a prohibitively expensive arms race and, thereby, damaging its economy. Is the NMD initiative meant to similarly force China into a costly arms race in order to weaken its economic strength, prevent its graduation into a formidable economic competitor to the US and set in motion the till now contained centrifugal political forces of China in the hope of thereby pre-empting its emergence as a strategic equal to the US in the Asia-Pacific region ? China thinks so, but the US strongly denies any anti-Chinese motivation. It says it looks upon China as a benign and not a malign competitor. Statements on the NMD initiative issued by China contain one message, namely: to China, its national security is sacrosanct. It would not allow it to be weakened whatever be the cost. Perhaps there is a need to generate a debate, monitor developments and help in directing decisions in the right direction in the interest of international security.

## Globalisation and Economic Co-operation

The grapple with the forces of modernity, the overwhelming surge of globalisation and the free market have had their impact in the form of heightened anxieties and related insecurity among nation states particularly in the developing countries.

Economic might of a nation has become a key factor. Negative economic fallouts, whether self inflicted through scams or imposed through trade regimes, can cause more havoc than a bloody war. We tend to emphasise the military dimensions of security, but perhaps do not give adequate thought to security in terms of economic strength, self sufficiency in food, water and energy and ecological sustainability. Another facet of security is the demographic movement of people across borders. With cooperation amongst countries of the region a lot can be achieved through trade and commerce, scientific and technical modernisation, infrastructural development, and proper use of resources and opportunities, for ensuring better quality of life and well-being of the people.

## Universal Security Norms

The problems of security need to be analysed in an objective, clinical and empirical manner, without any preconceptions. The endeavour should be to work towards common universal security norms, which should focus on some of the following aspects :-

(a)   The principle of equal security among nations regardless of whether countries are big or small.

(b)   The global desirability to move towards a multipolar, polycentric and a

more democratic international relations structure.

(c)   On the economic side, there is need for a level playing field and rational international economic relations, including globalisation.

(d)   Trans-border or cross-border terrorism concerns a large number of countries. There is a need to identify the measures to be adopted by the international community in tackling this problem.

(e)   International intervention in the affairs of a nation state should be avoided. However, where it is considered inescapable, it should be based upon international law under the aegis of the UN to foster a legitimacy within the international system. The UN should not be by-passed.

(f)   The need to guard against environmental degradation.

(g)   There is a need for co-operation, integration and a better security understanding. The emphasis should be on stable environment, not the *status quo*, to enable all the countries in the region to develop in conditions of peace and security.

**Seminar Scheme**

A two-day Seminar is proposed to be held at the USI on Thursday, 27 December and Friday, 28 December 2001, in four sessions. The proposed sessions are as under :-

(a)   **Session I**      -   Regional Security Perspectives.

(b)   **Session II**     -   Globalisation, International Intervention and State Sovereignty.

(c)   **Session III**    -   Weapons of Mass Destruction, Missiles, National Missile Defence (NMD), Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) Systems and Their Implications for International Security.

(d)   **Session IV**    -   Bilateral Relations including Joint Efforts for Revival of the Non-Aligned Movement.

# WELCOME ADDRESS

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL SATISH NAMBIAR, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (RETD)
### DIRECTOR USI


# INAUGURAL ADDRESS

## SHRI IK GUJRAL
### FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

# WELCOME ADDRESS

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL SATISH NAMBIAR, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (RETD)
### DIRECTOR USI

An interaction with the National Centre for Middle East Studies (NCMES), Cairo, was started in the year 2001 by visit of a small delegation from the United Service Institution of India. The credit for this interaction goes to the Ambassador of Arab Republic of Egypt in India, HE Mr Gehad Madi and the Indian Ambassador to Egypt, HE Mr Mukherji. In that exchange it was decided to have such joint seminars, and it is in that context we welcome our friends from the NCMES and the Egyptian Council of Foreign Affairs, to this seminar.

During the Nasser-Nehru era, Egypt and India, with some other countries, shaped global events, particularly as members of the Non Aligned Movement – a cornerstone of our interactive activities. This degree of cooperation and coordination in shaping world trends is absent now. But countries do have crucial geo-strategic impact in respective regions; like Egypt has in North Africa and West Asia and India has in South and Southern Asia. It is with the aim of trying to analyse the situation in these regions and hoping to understand the matters better that this joint USI-NCMES seminar has been organised. The developing world must address the aspects of globalisation, and the increasing trend towards humanitarian intervention impinging on a state's sovereignty, with some deliberation and discrimination to evolve a global consensus. Certain matters such as the problem of WMD, missile proliferation, and other related activities, are matters of vital concern in both countries. A restoration of bilateral cooperation at the political and economic levels would be in the best interest of both countries.

It is a great privilege for us this morning to have with us Mr I K Gujaral, the former Prime Minister of India, who graciously agreed to our request to deliver the keynote address. However, before that I will give the floor to Ambassador Omran El-Shafei to say a few words on behalf of his delegation.

## AMBASSADOR OMRAN EL-SHAFEI
### EGYPTIAN COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It is a great pleasure for the delegations of both our organisations from Egypt – the NCMES and the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, to be here to participate in the second round of interaction. We have come with great pleasure as there is a necessity and usefulness of continuity of dialogues between us and the USI of India. Both regions are witness to fast and significant developments that impact on surrounding areas as well.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS

## SHRI IK GUJRAL
FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

General Nambiar, Excellency Mr El Shafei, Excellency the Ambassador of Egypt and learned friends. I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to come here and, in a way, to participate in this very thought provoking seminar. The issues that you have chosen to discourse on are very comprehensive. I was remarking to Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar a while ago, about the vastness of the canvas of the Seminar. You have chosen to talk about regional security, international intervention, National Missile Defence ( NMD) systems and bilateral relationship between India and Egypt. I think each one of them deserves a separate seminar. Therefore, I wish you luck that in the next two days you are in a position to address them. I am aware of the prestige that National Centre for Middle East Studies occupies in the world of academics. It is a very honoured think tank of the Middle East and with Mr El Shafei and his friends here, I am sure we will benefit a lot from their knowledge.

May I first recall a very rewarding chronicle of the Indo-Egyptian relations having witnessed the Nasser-Nehru era. We were witness to decolonisation, a new world order emerging and the way these two great personalities shaped the future of our regions, and our countries. This was also an era when the Afro-Asian unity was finding its purpose. We were finding for ourselves that the fellowship that had been carved out because of the freedom struggles in various countries in the two continents had a great deal of commonality. The great movement was born at that time in the name of fellowship, and

camaraderie, in the two continents, later to be joined by Latin America. This was finding fellowship amongst some countries of Europe also. It was symbolised by the three personalities of the era, Nehru, Nasser and Tito. It now looks very remote but the fact is that perhaps things would not have been what they are today but for the contributions made by these three great personalities.

Lieutenant General Nambiar has just talked about Non Aligned Movement (NAM). The movement produced a great upsurge of thinking and a number of personalities apart from Nasser, Nehru, Tito, like Sukarno, Nkrumah and so on. The list is long, and each one of them symbolised a new upsurge. The task of liberation seemed comparatively easier because decolonisation had taken place. To think in terms of new world order of that time now seems far more formidable. But for these great personalities who led the Non Aligned Movement, things might not have been so easy. We also found that decolonisation did not end with the departure of the colonisers. They were leaving a legacy of colour discrimination. If we look at the world today, I would say that the real liberation came after the liberation of South Africa. The Non Aligned Movement from the very beginning had committed itself to end apartheid. Today Mandela occupies an exceptional standing in our minds because when we look back at the entire continent – from Algeria to South Africa and the Dutch governed colonies of Africa – we can perceive what tremendous history makers these people were, and what a remarkable movement was generated. It gave

us pride and an enormous degree of courage to look at the future with a great deal of commitment.

Every turn was very arduous and here I think of the liberation of Suez itself. The Suez Canal and all that followed is still fresh in our minds. When I talk of Suez Canal I also refer to another milestone which today spells the destiny of the world. It is Mosaddak, who nationalised oil for the first time in Iran. He paid a heavy price for this. The world order would have been different if the oil had not been liberated in the interest of the oil producing countries. In an interesting conversation with the US Secretary of State, James Baker, when Kuwait issue was making headlines in the media, the Secretary of State made certain telling remarks. He said, "remember, oil is our civilisation and we will never permit anyone to sit on it." And, oil continues to be a problem.

There were other milestones and legacies also that one could recall at length and think on how to construct our future, both in our regions and in our countries. Much has been said about the Twentieth Century and definitely from our point of view it was a remarkable century. The century saw, apart from the end of colonisation, the spelling out of destiny of our nation. Therefore, when we contemplate the future, let us think of the Twentieth Century, first, as the Century where the destiny has been spelt out, and how to deal with it. I do not regret the end of Cold War but I feel that this has caused an ominous shadow over the co-existence and co-partnership that the liberated countries had made in non-alignment. I think a seminar like this would be able to discuss at length what was the impression or the shadow caused on non-alignment by the end of Cold War, and why? Those who were never friendly with the Non-Aligned Movement continue to give their own interpretation as to what non-alignment was ? I think it is sometimes very regrettable that even the weaker countries in the NAM look cynically at this movement. I recall a recent statement made by Foreign Minister of Bangaladesh who thought that Non-Aligned Movement was a dead horse. The weaker countries would suffer more if camaraderie does not exit any more.

There is also the dimension of the role that our two countries play, which I think this Seminar would address. But I say with a degree of regret that the two of us who are the leading members of non-alignment are also taking a relaxed view of it. I think a seminar like this would be able to tell us what is the role the two of us can play in world affairs? I do not know whether with the weakening of Non-Aligned Movement, there is a possibility to play a role or not. And if it is possible to play an effective role by Egypt and India particularly complementing each other. That is why we talk more in terms of our regions now rather than the world affairs. One of the positive factors of the Non-Aligned Movement was that it gave all of us, collectively, a world role that I think is now slipping out of our hands and, therefore, once again we have to think about it. Gradually the world view of both the countries has shrunk and we are thinking more in terms of our immediate neighbourhood. Sometimes in the meetings of the intellectuals we do try to recall that once we had a world role to play; but then we stop at that. And, we do not know how to get out of this. It has also reduced our voices. Collectively we had a voice, individually we are not the same as we were in the World Councils.

I mentioned about Nasser and Nehru's role. That era looks remote past and now we feel that bilateral relationship between India and Egypt has slackened. In 1997, when I had

paid a brief visit to Cairo, His Excellency President Hosni Mubarak received me very warmly and I felt greatly honoured. I tried to urge him that we must now look more Eastwards. It is perhaps symbolic that he has not visited India for so many years. My deepest regret is that at one stage we had announced the Nehru award to President Mubarak but he could not find the time to receive it and the award lapsed. I am not complaining but this is something which is worth looking at. Are our bilateral relations the same as they were earlier? Do we have a joint future? Can we possibly reinvigorate them? In my opinion, unless bilateral relations are improved we cannot take a joint stand on the crisis ridden West Asia and South Asia; we only react occasionally.

This Seminar, I hope, will be taking a critical view of the challenges of conflict in the two regions. In fact our two regions, with societies that are diversified linguistically and otherwise, are now confronted with the challenges of fundamentalism and terrorism, which we really look at scornfully. The fundamentalists aim to push us into the kind of backwardness where even the colonisers could not push us. This challenge is a formidable one. Terrorism is the tool of the fundamentalists and it is very regrettable when you see it being used so effectively by some of the states in our regions to sustain their foreign policy. India and Egypt have already paid a heavy price for this rising tide. The assassinations of Egypt's President Anwar Sadat and India's Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and later Rajiv Gandhi are only symbols that reflect the sufferings of both countries. Both India and Egypt are the most developed countries in their respective regions. When we talk of West Asia; Egypt's role is significant. Similarly when we talk of South Asia, India's role is predominant.

Therefore, challenges confronting the two are more formidable as both are now confronted with challenges, which want to push us back. Both countries have to keep ahead of many countries in their regions. In this context, therefore, the one question that can be asked is what is our role in our region? Is it political, economic, social or is it a search to move forward and modernise our regions and thereby the world? Sometime back, I had spelt out India's foreign policy for our region in terms of what some people called "The Gujral Doctrine". I had suggested that the new approach be based on 'non reciprocity' as a part of foreign policy. But I do not know as to how much we have succeeded. I think it has to be a hallmark for a country that is more developed than any of its neighbours. Perhaps this Seminar will be able to look at it critically. Success has been partial. We feel that South Asia as a region would have moved forward but for the impediment of Indo-Pakistan relations. Similarly, West Asia as a region would have moved forward but for the obduracy of Israel. These two are somewhat mirror images of each other; both do not care for progress of the region as a whole and insist on their own narrow minded approach.

The basic paradigm of Indian nationhood, as we all know, is the composite society and culture, and, therefore, secularism and democracy. These are the two legs on which Indian nation would rest, and I know that in Egypt also there is something similar. Egyptian history, outlook, and society is built on secularism and democracy. And these are under strain. India, we take pride in saying, has the second largest Muslim population in the world. This composite society has stood the test of time. Those around us who thought that composite culture would not survive, and that only a single religion country would survive, have been proved wrong and history

has not been very kind to them. The most significant achievement is that India has survived as a cohesive voluntary type of democratic society. We have not been put together by force, we stay together, despite our diversity in all aspects, because our democracy binds us together. And we take pride in this. Any demand from within or outside which wants to re-engineer India is not acceptable.

I notice that in the neighbourhood of Egypt similar challenges are there. The challenge, to my mind is, can Palestine bear the weight of co-existence or not ? And if it can, how does it prove it; if it cannot, what are the consequences? We in India are aware of Egypt's agonising history; whereby she has paid the price for supporting the just cause of Palestine. India also supports their cause and hopes for peaceful coexistence between Palestinians and Israelis.

I must compliment the vast continent of Africa and its leadership because I think they have moved ahead of all of us, by giving shape to African unity in a different form. It was a remarkable thing that such a vast continent got together and fixed its focus and coped with what the Europeans had done. And I want to compliment you because I think Asia is still very much fragmented with an absence of shared views. South Asian community is now facing many challenges. We are wanting to get together in SAARC yet we are not getting together. In our region the ASEAN have done very well and that I think is a role model that is worth emulating. Violence and terrorism strangulate our region at the moment. Be it Sri Lanka, Nepal, India or Afghanistan, it is very painful. When we especially look at what is happening in Pakistan, we realise what terrible situations continue to hound us. What is going to happen in the post Taliban Afghanistan is still very

uncertain. An exigency for this region is that this region can settle down only when all states commit themselves to ruthlessly suppress terrorism and put up a joint front against all types of fundamentalism. We can live together and we must move together.

The attack on the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001 was not really an attack on a building, it was an attack on an institution. The fact that the Indian democracy, after half a century of its existence, will be confronted with a situation of being physically attacked is unimaginable. India is now talking in terms of trying to resist it. The idea is to safeguard democracy and secularism in this country.

A look at a recent report by the Brookings Institution at Washington reveals that the Al-Qaeda has now spread to 30 to 60 countries. How many of the terrorist organisations are operating from the West Asian region? These are threatening all civil societies, their progress and democracy. To my mind, the real task at hand is to take them on together, and also not let them use the noble name of religion. The biggest disservice is to use the name of Islam which I think is highly unjustified. Ultimately what is the objective of these movements? Every society will have to face them both externally and also internally. We must know whether we are in a position to finally slay the demon of intolerance or not. If you are able to slay it then, of course, we have a future.

I know I have not addressed various other dimensions of the seminar that you have spelt out to discuss. But I believe Egypt and India can and I repeat not only can, but they must play a role to jointly intervene to rescue this century from these strangleholds and ensure peace, disarmament, cooperation and development. Let us convert the new century into the century of hope, and defeat of despair. I wish your deliberations all success.

# REGIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVES

## FIRST SESSION

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|---|---|
| Chairman | : **Ambassador Ahmed Haggag** |
| *First Paper* | : Lieutenant General VR Raghavan, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM (Retd) |
| *Second Paper* | : Mr Abdel Halim ElMahgoub |
| *Third Paper* | : Ambassador Ahmed Haggag |
| *Discussants* | : Lieutenant General BS Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)<br>Mr Tarek Fahmy Mohamed Ismail |

**FIRST SESSION : FIRST PAPER**

**LIEUTENANT GENERAL V R RAGHAVAN, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM (RETD)**

This seminar is taking place during the aftermath of the most dramatic and devastating terrorist attacks ever seen. Those attacks changed the long held assumptions of security and safety of nations and people the world over. These attacks were followed by the military intervention in Afghanistan and the removal of the government in power in that country. The outcome of the military and political battles in Afghanistan are yet unclear at the time of writing this paper. What is, however, clear is that security in the coming decades will be predicated on new interpretations of military power, sovereignty, and justice. It is also clear that security and application of military power will transcend the limits of regions and regional perspectives.

In the period now commonly understood as the Cold War, international security was largely influenced by the two super powers. The USA and Soviet Union had defined and controlled international security by their colossal military and economic power. After the Cold War, the focus shifted to regional security through the emergence of countries who had the capability of dominating the region around them. Regional security also came into prominence through the evolution of a regional outlook on the economic dimensions of security. The impact of globalisation through the rapid growth and influence of information technology also made an impact on security in its regional dimensions.

The changed political and economic parameters of the post Cold War years saw a shift in the nature of conflict. Armed conflict was seen more between ethnic groups within states than behind states. Newly emerged states, the aspirations of nationalities within states, and the policy of military intervention in such states on strategic, political and humanitarian considerations, changed the nature of conflict. Terrorism assumed a larger and international dimension and is now a major threat to national and regional security. India and Egypt, as the two major players in South Asia and the Middle East, are required to play an important part in maintaining regional stability and security in their respective regions.

## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

International security environment plays a major part in establishing the framework of regional security perspectives. The interplay of international and regional perspectives also affect the security policies of individual nations. As of now terrorism is the dominant feature of international security. After the 11 September attacks, a number of questions have surfaced in the security discourse. There are questions on whether terrorism has replaced conventional military conflict. The patterns of asymmetric wars where the weaker side takes recourse to terrorism have already assumed dangerous proportions. There are questions on the ability of democracies being able to fight terrorism. Old and new democracies are moving towards providing unprecedented legal anti punitive powers to the state going beyond accepted norms of the rights of their citizens. International laws on the rights of citizens against human rights violation by the state and the terrorist are unclear. On the other hand, some still continue to believe that terrorism is an episodic event and its threat

potential will decrease and increase from time to time.

International security is affected by the major trends which are operating today. We are in an era where contradictions and antagonisms are simultaneously in play. The first contradiction is of globalisation and fragmentation. Even as national boundaries are being made porous and penetrable by globalisation, societies within national boundaries are being fragmented by economic and social mobility. This has and will continue to be a destabilising influence on security. The second contradiction is of peace and conflict. There are parts of the globe where peace and progress are the main engines of security. There are also vast areas where conflict is endemic. As a result, the world is viewed as divided between the zone of peace and the zone of conflict. The disturbing aspect of this division is the belief in the so called zone of peace about the need to intervene militarily in the zone of conflict. What this belief does not take into account is the third contradiction of prosperity and deprivation. This contradiction induces and sustains conflict. The relationship between deprivation and low levels of security through conflicts is a close one.

We are also in an era of antagonisms which add to insecurity. Even as nations of the world are integrating into economic and political entities, eg European Union, ASEAN, SAARC etc. societies are under pressures of disintegration. Traditional societal structures are under increasing pressures due to migrations, economic burdens and the new opportunities available through the impact of globalisation. The second antagonism is between sovereignty and intervention. The notion of sovereignty is undergoing reinterpretation in the light of regional and international changes in the movement of people and of regional groupings which make traditional national boundaries less important. The developing countries however continue to hold territorial boundaries and sovereignty as essential components of national survival. This belief is seriously affected by the recent development of intervention in a sovereign country being justified on humanitarian and security considerations. Where such military intervention is undertaken outside the purview of the United Nations, it sets new patterns of unilateral international behaviour threatening peace and stability. The third antagonism is built up by the consolidation and proliferation of security instruments. The development of the regimes to control the spread of weapons of mass destruction is a case in point. Even as treaty regimes like the NPT and CTBT are brought into play the reality is of nuclear powers consolidating their status permanently while denying the same to others. Their compulsion to retain nuclear weapons - even in smaller numbers - is an antagonistic position in the opinion of states who feel the security compulsion of possessing such instruments. The example of trade and tariff barriers, of economic cartels and on the Kyoto accord on environmental discipline are other instances of the antagonism of consolidation and proliferation. The fourth antagonism concerns cultural identity and multi cultural societies. There is a welcome growth in the belief in the role of multi cultural civic societies. They bring together diverse talents and capabilities which improve the quality of life of states. This often comes into conflict with societal groups which fear the loss of cultural identity. This antagonism is a cause of insecurity in many parts of the world.

It is as yet unclear in which direction the contradictions and antagonisms will lead the international security environment. Not

surprisingly, a well known commentator has said, " Only when one or more of these tendencies win out will our era gain a name of its own, displacing the awkward 'post -Cold War' tag line."[1] In the interim a major global shift has taken place in the assumptions on security. The shift is from the geo-strategic assumptions to geo-economic compulsions of security. That economic strength is the essential underpinning of national security is now recognised as the first principle of security. This was well described by *Time* magazine as, " The real consequence of the collapse of communism is the end of politics, with the security issues of the past swamped by the requirements of the GDP."[2] The idea of conflict and warfare has also taken on an economic dimension. This has been summarised as, "The way we make war reflects the way we make wealth."[3]

The recent events after 11 September 2001, indicate the possibilities of both aggravating and changing the international security environment portrayed above. The probabilities of unilateral military intervention into sovereign states in the name of humanitarian causes will increase. The global war against terrorism is capable of being interpreted as a sanction for such intervention. The major change in the security environment will come from the increased confidence of terrorist groups and others fighting for a perceived cause, to use mass killings by instruments of terror. The expansion of asymmetric wars into new areas is a high probability. This has the potential to create a cycle of conflict whose directions and scope are difficult to foresee. India and Egypt will both be affected by these developments. In fact, Egypt is exerting all its skills and energy in stabilising the impact of these international trends in the Middle East. The Israel-Palestine conflict is demonstrating all the contradictions and antagonisms discussed above. India has been affected by security threats from areas as far as Myanmar and Afghanistan. It is also facing a major threat to its security through terrorism from support bases that are outside India.

**Regional Perspective - South Asia**

How is South Asia viewed in the context of the prevailing international security environment? It has been seen more as a "fractured region of fractured States an enticing world of little cohesion."[4] South Asian states have all been involved in internal strife, migration of population, communal conflicts and sectarian wars. The image of South Asia as a troubled region is also reinforced by the interstate conflicts which have been both protracted and some times amounted to full scale wars. It is also, however, true that South Asia has demonstrated since the 1980s an ability towards building mechanisms to resolve conflicts and disputes. While these efforts at peace making and peace building have not been spectacularly successful, they have set in motion a process of dialogue between the states and their dissident groups.

What constitutes South Asia is open to different interpretations. The SAARC group of nations certainly define the region. Yet the understanding of the region is different in other parts of the world. Some include Myanmar and Afghanistan in the region while others exclude them. Indians like to include southern China in South Asia, while others oppose the idea. Indian authorities have been of late saying that India's strategic frontiers extend well beyond its territorial boundaries. By that logic, areas up to the Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan will form the strategic shape of South Asia. In the east, India has already become part of the consultative process in ASEAN. The Indian

formulation of Southern Asia as a larger regional construct than South Asia, is another perspective of what the region is and could be.

The idea of a region and even of its making is influenced by strategic factors. Not unlike the international system, regional systems are witness to competition for power and control between its pivotal states. They do so to obtain dominance over other states in the region. This attempt by a state or states to view their national security as more important than of other states creates fears of hegemonism. States should ideally function within a regional security complex. This is defined as, "A group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another." This condition is absent in South Asia which is a unique condition. This has led to the paradox of South Asia as a region not being under threat even as every state in the region feels its security threatened. China offers an example of the difficulty of managing security in South Asia. It has a critical role in the security of the region. Its size and reach makes it a security influence. This has manifested in most of the states in the region relating themselves to China in many ways. Some like Pakistan and Myanmar have done it through receiving military aid, while others like Nepal and Bangladesh have done so through economic aid. China had for many years provided military help and shelter to Indian secessionist groups. In the nuclear weapons area, China has created a triangular strategic dimension with India, Pakistan and itself. Its unwillingness to discuss nuclear deterrence stability with India does not help strategic stability in the region.

India is the dominant player in the South Asian region. There is a widespread Indian influence in the civic societies of the region, even if some states in the region do everything to deny that civilisational dimension. The economic centrality of India can be seen by its capacity to assist and also influence other national economies in the region. An important characteristic in the region is India's asymmetric capabilities relative to other states on its periphery. In size, population, technology and economic power, India looms large in its neighbours' calculations. It is, therefore, described as the regional power centre. India is nevertheless not a unipolar power in the region. It can best be termed the pre-dominant power free from challenges from other states in the region but also not entirely free to control the regional sub system. Pakistan has continued to wage a proxy war against India for a long while. Bangladesh has harboured on its territory militant groups working against Indian interests. The conflict in Sri Lanka amongst Tamils and Sinhalese populations has had a serious impact on Indian security and stability. China has been active in military and political initiatives in Pakistan and Myanmar. Pakistan has since long supported and sustained militant groups on its territory whose sole purpose is to destabilise India. The attempts to obtain strategic balance against India is a recurring theme in the policies of India's neighbours. The intractability of conflicts in the region is another security characteristic. It has its origins in the traditions of colonial governance even after the states in the region became free from colonial rule. The application of coercive state power against their own population was one factor in continuing the conflicts. The overlapping and trans border populations sharing common identities also contributed to continuing conflicts. These have led in turn to India

becoming a factor in the neighbouring states' internal politics. Indophobia and anxieties on Indian intentions have been kept alive in the political discourse of almost all of India's neighbours. Its long and strong democratic political structure has been a factor in affecting relations with some of its neighbours who have long spells of military rule.

A feature of the South Asian region has been the competition to obtain dominance or parity amongst the major players. Two sets of states are assiduously involved in this competition. India and China and India and Pakistan form the two pairs of the competitive dyads in South Asia. India therefore is a competitor with both China and Pakistan. This is also evident in the attempts made by India to secure its interests by acquiring nuclear weapons. India sees itself in a security competition with China and acquired nuclear weapons whereas Pakistan was helped greatly by China in its nuclear weapons capability as a balancing response in the regional competition. Managing the India-China-Pakistan strategic triangle is, therefore, the major area of interest in the future.[7] Normally a triangular strategic equation would assume a few conditions. First, that the three countries by and large have the autonomy to take their own decisions. An awareness that action directed against any one would also affect others would be the other condition. Third, that more often than not two of the three states would cooperate against the third. Fourth, all players prefer to continue the mutually reinforcing and influencing behaviour.

The coming together of three countries in a nuclear competition – even if vigorously denied by all three – creates some serious strategic concerns. There is no dialogue at all between them collectively or bilaterally on the stability of nuclear deterrence. While Pakistan and China have no strategic adversarial relationship, India has such a relationship with both. India will, therefore, need to resolve its dilemmas on the way nuclear deterrence will be applied against two adversaries simultaneously. Nuclear weapons are meant for deterrence which demands that deterrence be stable. Stability of nuclear deterrence can only come about through mutually agreed limits on capabilities, intentions and confidence building measures. None of these essential conditions are either existing or being negotiated. The three consequences of unresolved nuclear contentions, viz nuclear arms race, crisis instability and accidental war are, therefore, a possibility in the South Asian region. The requirement is to have recourse to initiatives in the political, arms control arena between the three countries. These complementary initiatives are needed to stabilise the nuclear risks which are prevalent in the region. On the other hand, there are good signs that the three strategic players will find ways to retain control over the risk thresholds. The three countries recognise the devastating cost of a nuclear weapons exchange. There are technology limits to their nuclear programmes. There are economic priorities influencing their security policies. There is, however, no doubt that India, China and Pakistan will have to begin work on a nuclear deterrence stabilising regime amongst them.

**The Changed Nature of War**

Events of 11 September 2001 will be one watershed in the nature of war and conflict for the coming decades. The traditional nature and instruments of military conflict would undoubtedly remain the means by which states defend themselves and deter their adversaries. On the other hand, non

state players are becoming increasingly capable imposing very high costs on states through the use of unconventional and devastating methods of inflicting punishments on both the states and their populations. Conventional military power cannot deter or prevent such asymmetric but devastating attacks. The advantages of globalised communications, money control, terrorist networking and instant media coverage have given such groups capabilities well beyond the traditional military capability. The nature of conflict between states and their opponents has changed both in scope and in complexity. No state in South Asia is proof against such threats. Equally no state in South Asia can tackle such threats on its own. South Asian states will have to cooperate over a wide range of areas to successfully meet the new challenge. This applies equally to Egypt in the Middle East and India in South Asia.

A better approach is to look at security in its widest term. After September 2001 many questions are raised about the meaning of security. Security for whom and what is being secured is the subject coming under debate. Security from the new threats facing all countries is to be found in the wider dimensions of economy, societies, environment and political security of the people. Human security was an idea which has attempted to deal with the new dimensions of security. I believe that comprehensive security is a better phrase that defines the wider meaning of security. It includes military security as one amongst the many criteria by which security is to be measured. The changed nature of conflict and security require that a new model of raising the security of both states and their peoples is required, in place of the narrow and purely military dimensions of security. Developing countries like Egypt and India will be able to cope with regional security better by downing the scope of security to include the economic, societal, environmental and political dimensions of their peoples' well being. After all, security of the state rests in the well being of its people.

**Notes**

[1] Richard Haas, "What to do with American Primacy", *Foreign Affairs,* September/October 1999.

[2] *Time*, 1996.

[3] A and H Toffler, *War and Anti War: Making Sense of Today's Global Chaos,* Warner Books, 1993

[4] WH Morris Jones, "South Asia", in Jackson & James eds; *States in a Changing World,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993.

**FIRST SESSION : SECOND PAPER**

**MR ABDEL HALIM EIMAHGOUB**

The Middle East has always been characterised as being a hot spot at all times. Historical experience has shown that countries of the region have always sought to secure themselves unilaterally, in complete disregard of collective cooperation schemes. This made way for strong foreign intervention and gave it the chance to play a decisive role in the region's security.

Another characteristic of the Middle East is the overlapping nature of its security problems, both the chronic and the new ones. This makes it difficult to handle any of these problems separately, independent of other problems. The same is true even for the internal security problems which cannot be dealt with seperately. Therefore, dealing with the Arab-Israeli dispute necessitates handling other problems closely related to it such as terrorism, the Iraq problem, the water shortage, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in addition to the conventional ones in the Middle East, globalisation and foreign intervention.

This paper gives an overview of the political security scenes, the implications of facts and variables in shaping these scenes and prospects of stability in the region.

**An Overview**

The Arab-Israeli dispute is a source of several security problems in the Middle East. The right extremist trends dominate the Israeli political thinking and policies. The military establishment plays an effective role in making the political decisions there. This is one reason for wasting many chances to reach a just and lasting peace with the Arabs. Following the war in 1967, Zionist expansionist ambitions to control more of the Arab territories dominated over the will to reach a peaceful settlement. The Arab-Israeli War in 1973 was a turning point in the dispute, paving the way for Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and settling the dispute through negotiations. As a result the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was reached in 1979. But successive governments in Israel were not keen to follow it with similar treaties with the other Arab countries. The Arab side also had a share of responsibility for such a development.

The revolutionary transition that took place at the international and regional levels in early Nineties brought back the parties to the negotiation table. The Oslo Agreement was reached in 1993, and the Israeli - Jordan peace treaty in 1994, with serious negotiations under way between Syria and Israel. However, the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister in 1995, who had a balanced vision, brought back domination by the extremist section upon Israeli decisions. This put an end to the aspirations to reach a peaceful settlement through negotiations. The Israeli policies against the Palestinians in the occupied territories triggered the *Intifada* (uprising) twice, in 1987 and in the year 2000.

The Israelis took advantage of the international and Middle Eastern developments. An example of this is Bush administration's lack of a new vision to settle the Arab Israeli dispute. Rather it concentrates on other issues such as terrorism, energy and Iraq. Moreover, it tried to persuade the key countries in the region to accept the new

American priorities, in complete disregard of the overlapping nature of the regional issues in the Middle East. The Implications of such developments were many :

(a) The American stand and the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian civilians enraged the Arab public opinion. It stirred anti-American sentiments and questioned the wisdom of attempting to reach a peaceful solution with a nation that has no respect for its commitments.

(b) Discussion of ways of regional cooperation in the Middle East, which made good progress in both economic and security issues (Arm Control – confidence building measures), came to a halt.

(c) The Palestinian religious extremist groups, which declared their intention to abandon violence in 1997 unilaterally, resumed their violent acts against the American and Israeli targets.

(d) Attempts by Arab governments are underway to revive the Arab regional cooperation, following the failure of Middle Eastern cooperation formula. In addition to the continuous consultation among the Arab countries, these efforts include strengthening the Arab League. Egypt plays a central role in establishing appropriate basis for an active economic cooperation in an attempt to further Arab solidarity.

(e) The key Arab countries have refused the new American priorities, with Iraq targeted as top priority. Realising that continued isolation of Iraq plays in the hands of the Israelis, the Arab nations in general and Egypt in particular have intensified their contacts and cooperation with Iraq.

It has been proved beyond doubt that isolating Iraq did not contribute to forging a balanced, stable order in the Gulf region. The American military presence in the region, opposed by regional countries like Iran and local religious groups intensified extremism and terrorism in the region. Saudi Arabia suffered several acts of sabotage due to foreign presence on its soil. The American embargo imposed upon Iraq did not weaken Saddam's grip upon the country, on the contrary it justified a centralised form of government that lent Saddam more strength. The economic sanctions in fact wiped out the Iraqi middle class society – considered to be the natural source for change. The repeated military strikes launched against Iraq substantially weakened the opposition coalition cooperating with Washington. Under such circumstances there are no prospects for peaceful change in Iraq, leaving no alternative other than direct military intervention to get rid of the Saddam regime and replace it with another enjoying American blessings.

As a result of the harsh economic and social circumstances, an Islamic trend is evolving. While this trend can form a broad based government representing the various Iraqi forces (Shia-Sunni–Kurds), it can be a source of great instability because of its hostility to nationalist secular trends and foreign influence.

The 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks proved that terrorism has become a global problem that can have implications on the formation of a new international order. One of the implications is the new American concept of terrorism that includes some Palestinian liberation movements, struggling against Israeli occupation. This concept is rapidly evolving to include more anti-American

groups. Another characteristic of the new concept of terrorism is dividing the world between countries supporting terrorism and those resisting it. Washington gives itself complete liberty to do what it thinks right against the latter states. Although the American administration kept Israel out of the coalition against terrorism, it is continually taking the Israeli side in dealing with the Palestinian side, declaring its understanding of Israel's harsh measures against Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian authority.

The American campaign against terrorism has a two pronged strategy :

(a)    Keeping the initiative in the world order in Washington's hands.

(b)    Restoring the American prestige and self-confidence, and assuring the American citizens of their superiority.

The recent references in many American and European writings establishing a connection between Islam and terrorism and a resumption of cultural struggle concept between the West and Islamic religion adds a serious dimension to the present campaign against terrorism. The immediate reaction to such approach will be an increase in anti-American sentiments in the Muslim and Arab world, in addition to its adverse impact on the American Muslims and Arabs.

## The Water Crisis and its Implications Upon Regional Security

The shortage of water in the Middle East is a great source of tension. This problem is particularly severe in the eastern part of the Arab world, with tension mounting between Israel and its neighbours, Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Israel and Turkey play the water card against the Arab parties to settle political scores.

## The Future

*After the 11 September 2001 attacks we expect other countries such as Russia, Europe (United Kingdom in particular), India and Japan to play their part in the context of the evolving international order.* It can end the uni-polar world order that we are witnessing since the demise of the Soviet Union. The mighty blow the United States suffered on 11 September ended the impunity of the American territories against aggression and proved that American security cannot be achieved without the cooperation of other countries. The developments also reflect Britain's positive role in an attempt to gain the most from the present circumstances and regain its influence in the Middle East and Central Asia. The September attacks in fact herald a positive and active role for the UK in regional problems.

In the absence of a collective regional security system in the Middle East, the region may seek to have stronger relations with Iran, Russia and China as a way to counterbalance any adverse pressure from the West. Many opportunities exist to promote political understanding and economic cooperation among these nations.

In the Arab arena, the infrastructure established in Cairo and Amman summits will certainly enhance the mechanisms of common Arab action, enabling the Arab League to stand against the challenges posed by Israeli extremism. Israel has always been keen on besieging the Arab world through its alliance with Turkey or through penetrating the African Horn, in addition to the Israeli dominance upon the American policy. This leaves no choice for the key Arab countries except to rally and rearrange their cards. Thus we expect stronger efforts to get Iraq back to the Arab fold. Better coordination can be

expected in facing terrorism, in the economic development and the Arab political decision-making.

Continuation of the Iraqi crisis has intensified the instability in the Gulf region. An Arab-Iranian understanding in the political sphere and building up confidence between the two sides can gradually diminish the need for foreign military presence in the region.

The continued Iranian occupation of the three islands belonging to the United Arab Emirates cannot be disregarded as an obstacle in the way of such understanding.

The Mediterranean region is expected to witness a broader cooperation between the Northern European and Southern Arab countries. The security developments in Algiers will enjoy special attention in the light of the American and European readiness to supply it with the necessary funds to fight internal terrorism.

The various forms of economic cooperation might be accompanied by positive efforts to contain sources of tension, with the West Saharan problem at the top, besides Libya remerging in the regional cooperation organisations.

On the contrary the Arab-Israeli dispute may witness more setbacks as a result of the present Israeli practices. The parties sharing the Israeli coalition have been calling upon the Israeli Prime Minister to widen the scope of confrontation to include Syria and Lebanon. Such threats add to the present tense situation.

The persistent ignoring of initiatives by Arafat to stop violence with positive response from Hamas, will lead to a new explosion for *Intifada*.

Further, the American administration is increasingly threatening that Iraq will be its next target, following success in the Afghan war. Such a development, is likely to lead to disturbance and power struggle in Iraq. A dissolution of Iraq will lead to interference by regional forces having vested interests.

Egypt has been successful in containing terrorism and religious extremism. But the American management of crisis in Israeli dispute can result in a new wave of religious extremism aimed at the United States. This extremism can rely upon anti-American sentiments in gaining support.

## SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Following the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union a completely new political phenomena emerged. The victorious forces used the phenomena termed globalisation, free trade, market economy and internationalisation of security issues worldwide in imposing their domination upon the world.

The Middle East region is known to be a hot spot, where the Arab-Israeli conflict is the main cause for instability and the absence of regional security. The Iraqi problem has also become a chronic source for imbalance and a pretext for foreign interference. Moreover, modern and advanced conventional weapons continue to flow into the Middle East. For example the USA and some European countries agreed on providing weapons amounting to $ 80 bn for the Gulf region during the last decade. A number of countries acquired surface to surface missiles, and biological and chemical weapons while others produced such weapons locally. The growing regional disputes will double such efforts in the coming years.

A third factor characterising security in the Middle East is the foreign interference in the region stemming from the interests of great powers specially the USA and Europe. Securing sources and supplies of oil to the West at suitable prices, preventing control and protecting international navigation lines and strategic straits top the list of interests. This is in addition to maintaining security and military superiority of Israel.

The Middle East region embraces three major nationalities, namely, the Arab, the Persian and the Turkish, although all under the banner of Islam, yet the cultural differences and the historical background persist in relations among the countries in the region. Such differences adversely affected the Arab relations and were used by foreign powers to separate the Arab front. They deepened the differences between the three nationalities specially to sever the national Arab trend during the Fifties and the Sixties. The same role is repeated now after the alliance between Turkey and Israel. Within the last three decades of the 20th Century, three issues have emerged that add a crucial factor leading to more instability and tension :-

(a)    Extremism accompanied by terrorism and violence started as a domestic problem to become a regional and then an international one. The repercussions have affected regional and international security.

(b)    Globalisation, culturally, economically or politically affected the internal policies of governments. Governments were forced to reconsider their policies with a view to coping with new international changes.

(c)    Water in the Middle East is a major problem that maximises the food gap. Moreover non Arab countries control Arab water resources. Accordingly, water is turned into a political card leading to an imbalance in the region and a threat to collective security.

Finally, it is noteworthy that there are great differences in the political development of different regions. The world is witnessing an unprecedented revolution in means of communication and technology, and many regions can not keep pace with it. Such differences have led to political and security disturbances and ambiguity when analysing the power of the countries and the future of existing political regimes. Therefore, war or threat to declare war is considered the method of settling political disputes or changing borders. There are positive aspects in this regard too. Arab decision-makers sensed the necessity of adopting an approach to cope with the international and regional developments. Consequently some important issues were seriously considered, such as peace with Israel and regional cooperation. This was after the failure of the Middle East project established by the United States and Israel encompassing several forms of such cooperation as the Islamic G8, the Mediterranean European cooperation and the same in the Indian Ocean area. The joint Arab cooperation started to tailor impractical mechanisms within the Arab league. This is in addition to cultural and regional cooperation in some sub-Arab areas.

The 11 September 2001 attacks seriously affected the Middle East. Such events forced the United States to address terrorism as an axis in its international role. The security and stability of the Middle East represented a vital aspect to reach success in this confrontation. An international coalition

was formed and the non-allied countries were regarded by the United States as terrorism-backing states. Such events reflected its sudden repercussions politically, economically and culturally in the region and placed many countries in an awkward position to choose. Many countries are sensing their way to come out of this situation with the least losses.

## SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### The Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict is considered the main factor impeding an agreed upon form for collective security in the Middle East. The conflict is described as a contiguous, dangerous, unsolved and uncontrollable one; which witnessed several wars. The War in 1973 was a marked shift. This war resulted in the acceptance of the Israeli state. It also dealt a blow to the Israeli security theory, which motivated Israel to consider political alternatives for war and coexistence in the region.

The United States mediator played a crucial role to achieve such a change and two disengagement agreements were signed in 1974 and 1976. A similar agreement was signed with Syria in 1974. Plans of settling the Palestinian-Israeli dispute were considered. Sadat visited Jerusalem in 1977. This assured the possibility of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is noteworthy that certain other political developments in the region had their influence, mainly, the successful Islamic revolution in Iran and the pressure from the United States which forced Israel to accept the Camp David Agreement in 1978.

The United States mediator hesitated in accomplishing his mission in pushing the negotiations forward and the evaluation of the Egyptian initiative. This is in addition to the influence of the ruling Israeli elite and its belief in the military solution. Such factors blocked the way to reaching a peaceful settlement. The belief in military superiority made Israel use its troops rather than sit at the negotiation table. Consequently, the region witnessed a series of actions and reactions. The final result emerged in the Palestinian uprising, the "Intifada" in 1987, reflecting the Palestinian people's rejection of the Israeli occupation, the Arab and the Israeli approaches and the role of the United States as a mediator in the conflict. The *Intifada*, which lasted about six years (1987-1993), led to two results. First was the Palestine Liberation Organisation's formal shift to political action after ensuring its existence inside the occupied territories. This was reflected in the Palestinian National Council's resolutions in Algeria in December 1988 approving the existence of the State of Palestine in Gaza and the West Bank as the ultimate objective of the Palestinian strife. This is in addition to the complete recognition of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 which encompassed the recognition of the Israeli State. A United States-Palestinian dialogue started in Tunisia after many a successive United States government had rejected the recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. Second, some internal Palestinian groups emerged taking different forms; of these the most important are Hamas and Jihad Islamic movements. Such groups were under indirect auspices of the Israeli government and had the United States' support as the next alternative instead of the Palestinian Organisation. Meanwhile, Hamas were able to establish sound relations with a number of governments and institutions especially in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, providing moral and financial support in the period of the *Intifada*.

The region witnessed some striking events starting with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and the collapse of the Soviet Union that shifted the balance of power. Some of the region's countries, mainly Israel, lost its strategic role in enhancing the interest of the USA. A new political environment emerged to establish some understanding between the Arabs and the Israelis. As a result, the Madrid Conference was convened in October 1991 which led to direct negotiation between Israel and the Arab parties concerned, ie Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Such negotiations helped forge the Oslo Agreement in 1993 paving the way for the Arab-Israeli coexistence. This was an opportunity to experience peace as an alternative to war. It was short lived.

Rabin's assassination in 1995 led to a shift in policy of coexistence. This event highlighted the prevalence of fundamental trends within the Israeli community and their Army. The Labour Party lost the 1996 elections. As a result of divergent views towards the peace process despite the Oslo Agreement, the Second Camp David talks and the Taba meeting in Egypt, very little was achieved. Sharon's September visit to the Holly Al Aqsa Mosque started the flame, which burst the second *Intifada*. The Israeli extremist section led by Sharon found its opportunity to resort to ethnic cleansing. Using excessive violence with Israeli military means, the Palestinians were forced to leave their land and find another place outside the historical Palestine ie forcing them to a third immigration (earlier immigrations were during 1948 and 1967).

Numerous opportunities were there to stop the expanding clashes via Michel Plan to resume negotiation or via Head of CIA's Programme for a cease fire. Such

opportunities and initiatives were there from Chairman Yasser Arafat also who repeatedly declared his acceptance of cease fire and put in efforts to contain the powers triggering violence. On 17 December 2001 he declared cessation of all armed actions against Israel; Sharon's response was a disappointment as he put crippling conditions that were hard to achieve. The Israeli government considers Palestinian National Authority a terrorist entity, using the current world conditions and spurring the United States administration to stop interfering completely in the crisis, pending the results of the current situation. Arafat declared an end to the armed struggle which got a positive reaction from Hamas in support of the Palestinian cause, but not from the Sharon government. The Sharon government put upon the shoulder of the Palestinian authority the responsibility for guaranteeing Israeli security. Comparing this with what happened in the Nineties can make possible the true evaluation of the exploding situation. This decade witnessed a real leap in Arab-Israeli relations where settlement and long-term coexistence were viable. The two sides were ready to make settlements including mutual concessions including on the Syrian side. It was the decade in which serious projects of regional economic cooperation were proposed. Also there was a search for security based on confidence and transparency.

After clashes between the Palestinians and Israelis, new issues started to appear. These include effecting a demographic change in the West Bank and Gaza, and inside Israel. This also includes a comprehensive strategy for Israel that takes into consideration the political stability in the Middle East. Dror is a professor in political science in the Jewish University in Jerusalem. He proposes that Israel should use any anti

Israeli movement, however limited, to persuade the regime or group that made such a movement to realise the hopelessness of reaching a peaceful settlement, and that focus should be on effecting a radical change, replace the existing regime with anoher one which would sign a peace treaty according to what Israel wants.

Hence, the uprising gave the Israelis a pretext to freely propose ideas and apply them. What did the uprising present to the Palestinian side?

(a)    The uprising confirmed the failure of the Israeli security theory which is based on moving war to the enemy's land, i.e. the Arab land, by launching a pre- emptive strike. The uprising nullifield this theory by threatening the security of the Israeli citizens rather than the national security of Israel.

(b)    The uprising is widely supported by the Arab and Islamic fronts, both officially and publicly. In addition, it focussed on the Palestinian issue as a pivotal issue to the Arab system. It stressed the necessity for regular Arab Summit sessions, the first of which was held in Amman in March 2001.

(c)    Israel also realises that the uprising is developing into an armed public resistance which can gain logistic support from the Arab and the Muslim countries. Israel will have to work out its response to the uprising and its need for strategic depth. This coincides with another strategic issue that emerged after the second Gulf War. It is the "missile – terror balance" between the Arabs and Israel; more specifically between Syria, Iraq and Iran on one side and Israel on the other. Both sides have medium and long-range missiles

that can carry highly destructive chemical and biological warheads.

The developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict place the Middle East security at the crossroads. The United States has pledged Israel's security in its Middle East strategy. It is required to abort any comprehensive confrontation between Israel and any of the Arab or Islamic countries that may affect its interests in the region or impede the implementation of its current strategy of "war against terrorism". However, Israeli military practices and political thinking push the region to a confrontation, which may oblige the United States to take steps to curb movement of some countries like Syria. Yet, the United States cannot gamble by intervening in totality in the region creating a situation with unknown results.

The initiative of the American Secretary of State, Colin Powell, contained positive elements specially enhancing the declaration of a "viable" Palestinian State. In addition to that the American administration has made attempts to persuade the Israeli government to pull back its forces from the Palestinian authority's territories. But these American attempts seem to lack political will; no attempts were made to persuade Israel to relax the constraints it had imposed upon the Palestinian population.

**The Iraq Problem**

Iraq has twice fallen a victim to the transformation of world order, and it seems that it may become a victim for the third time. President Saddam Hussein decided to invade Kuwait on 02 August 1990, assuming that uncertainty prevailed in the world order and the invasion may be overlooked because Iraq was considered a defence wall against Iranian threats. The UN Security Council made

a series of resolutions concerning Iraq which created a siege of sorts; it exists even now. The objectives of such a system, as stipulated by the Security Council resolutions, are as follows:-

(a)　Preventing any further Iraqi threats to the neighbouring countries and creating a stable regional regime in the Gulf.

(b)　Providing protection to civilians to face the procedures and practices of the regime.

(c)　Obliging Iraq to pay the price for its crime in the form of remedies or long-term political commitments.

(d)　The establishment of a stable regional and world order, and aborting any resurgence against this order.

The United States added another aspect that was- officially adopted; i.e. destroying the existing regime in Baghdad and providing all support for the opposition factions.

To implement these resolutions, a number of commissions were formed to carry out inspection, monitoring and constant cooperation from the Iraqi government. The United States regarded itself the main force responsible for implementation and expanded the interpretation of the resolutions. The United States, together with Britain and France, imposed a no fly zone over south and north of Iraq. However, France withdrew after a while; Washington and London shared the responsibility.

The United States used what is called "fair raids" diplomacy, under the pretext of obliging Iraq to implement the Security Council resolutions, or securing the no fly zone and

periodical monitoring. However, this did not prevent military attacks by aircraft and missiles under various pretexts that reached the level of punishing the government of Baghdad for its attempts to dominate the northern Kurdish areas.

It is worth mentioning that Security Council resolutions set a group of principles, dishonouring of which would have led to numerous crises; including the following :-

(a)　Periodical review of sanctions, i.e. there should be a link between Iraq's compliance to the resolutions and alleviating sanctions. However, this has never been made applicable over the last ten years, weakening thus any hope that may urge Iraq for more cooperation with the United States.

(b)　Resolutions stipulated respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, which was repeatedly violated by the United Nations Commissions, or military Turkish interventions in northern Iraq let alone using inspection team members by the CIA and the Mossad for gathering intelligence on Iraq.

(c)　There is a direct link between the issue of Iraqi weapons of- mass destruction and the necessity of declaring the Middle East a region free from weapons of mass destruction.

This link has been ignored totally because it can question the Israeli stand.

The sanction system, which the United States and Great Britain insist on continuously developing and expanding, targets the state of Iraq rather than being a mere punishment for a crime committed by its leaders. Over a decade, Desert Storm and the subsequent American and British raids destroyed Iraq's

economic and military infrastructure; and prevented Iraq from exercising any regional role or seizing opportunities to develop itself internally. Meeting people's basic needs in the face of unprecedented shortages poses tremendous problems.

Though the oil for food programme mildly alleviated people's sufferings, the complete dominance by the superpower over the contracts related to that programme became an obstacle towards achievement of the programme's objectives. Hence, Iraq does not receive half its monthly food requirements via supplies cards. Moreover, electricity, education and the agricultural sectors, as well as oil industries, are suffering shortages. Such sufferings justified a centralised form of government which lent Saddam more strength. A group of beneficiaries from the siege appeared such as those trading in food. Accordingly, the middle class which breeds the elite capable of effecting any change has disappeared. Social values witnessed an increased deterioration as a result of spread of poverty and unbalanced social relations.

The sanctions system realised its military objectives, as inspection teams acknowledged before 1998 that Iraq no longer possessed nuclear weapons nor had the potential to revive its nuclear programme or ballistic missiles. Though it is claimed that Iraq still possesses chemical and biological weapons, it is understood that this claim is a mere excuse to continue sanctions. Iraq now is unable to rebuild its conventional troops in the light of the continuous jeopardy and difficulties of training and low morale.

Iraq has also fulfilled the United Nations requirements on the demarcation of its borders with Kuwait, recognising it as an independent state and has begun payment of about $ 7 bn as compensation. Yet, the United Nations evaluated such

compensations at United States $ 276 bn in addition to an arrears totaling United States $ 320 bn by the end of 2000, which impedes such a reimbursement.

The growing control of some foreign powers over the United Nations-Iraqi relations has curbed the Iraqi hopes of easing the sanctions and has forced it to resort to illegitimate actions. This is in addition to the continued suffering of the Iraqi people which led to the disintegration of the United States led coalition. Several governments violated the sanctions by organising flights to Baghdad and developing trade relations. This is in addition to the increased rate of oil and goods smuggling with governments turning a blind eye to sanctions. Hence, the USA thought of the so called smart sanctions on the pretext of broadening the programme of oil versus food and differentiating between civil, military and dual purpose commodities.

Such proposals actually provide a permanent system of sanctions that is not related to any time-ceiling even if Iraq fully rescinded to the international demands. Not to mention the fact that it links the balance of trade between Iraq and its neighbours with several controlling tools in a way that affects the sovereignty of the neighbouring countries. In its official memorandums to the Security Council in June and July 2001, Jordan stated that its economic losses might exceed those of the United States, which incurred an annual loss of $ 500 bn, not to mention their negative effects on the country's social and political conditions.

The United States led war has pushed Iraq and the region into chaos. Successive signs from members of the United States administration indicate that Iraq is a potential target after the end of war in Afghanistan. Therefore, will the United States military action

be confined this time to punish Iraq anew and pave the way for the United Nations committees? Will the target be the comprehensive elimination of the Iraqi regime? Or the disintegration of Iraq? Such potentials have their violent effects on the security situation in the Middle East.

## Religious Extremism, Terrorism, Globalisation and Interference

Extremism is an intellectual stance of a person who has extreme explanations for the religious text, which he uses in the analysis of human relations. When he seeks to impose his explanations on others or on the society using violent means and in addition resorts to the traditional tools of politics; it adversely affects the coherence and security of the society in addition to regional stability and international peace.

Islamic history has witnessed people presenting their explanations of religious texts and their role was confined to studies without imposing their views on other people. Islamic history also encompassed individuals who led political movements to impose their explanations on the whole society focussing their efforts on establishing the religious state through which they could implement their thoughts. Such a trend organises internal relations in a society, i.e. the relation between the ruler and his people and the relations at the regional and international levels.

Moreover, there was an emergence of some political groups raising the banner of Islam with a view to introducing themselves as political powers affecting the society. The most prominent of them was the Muslim Brotherhood, which was established in Egypt in 1928 using all contemporary political methods including coalitions with groups, and institutions that differed on the ideological and cultural levels, such as the Royal Palace, the British occupation or some symbols of foreign influence such as the French company of the Suez Canal. This was in the context of confronting other political powers in the society such as the Wafd party. The ideology of such powers carrying the banner of Islam provided a suitable climate for the emergence of extremist groups rejecting life in the society and persistently clashing with the existing regime.

The use of violence by such groups to achieve their aims created a new situation in the society whereby the state and the groups sought to use all available means of power in mutual violence and all economic and social conditions as well as problems in order to change the existing balance in the society. Some regimes also resorted to use the religious institutions and the cultural elite to present an ideology or a word against another ideology or word. This created a political phenomenon that could hardly be ignored and became a factor of attraction for foreign interference.

When these groups assumed power in some Middle East countries as Iran and Sudan and threatened to reach Algeria, regional security in the Middle East and international strategies in the region were mostly affected, be it during the Cold War or later. Certain points require attention :

(a)    The Western explanations either at the official level or its public opinion, linked the practices of groups and countries to the religion of Islam. Elements opposing Islam as a religion did emerge. Such Western view sought to make a link between the religion of Islam and all forms of backwardness

and violence leading to a direct connection between terrorism and Islam. The former United States President, Ronald Regan's statements indicated such a link when he described the position of Iran and Libya in a bid to justify America's hostile position against them during the Eighties. This trend is visible in the writings of Western intellectuals and politicians after the 11 September events in the United States.

(b) The methods used by the West and the US to deal with such extremist Islamic groups enabled the latter to be engaged to the power equation in the region. The USA had used such Islamic groups against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Regional countries were also pressurised to provide financial and logistic support for such groups. European countries opened their doors for such groups, which sought to use local laws, and developed means of communication in planning terrorist acts, strengthening coordination among them and acquiring the necessary finance.

(c) Israel introduced itself as a power facing the extremist Islamic trend in a bid to regain its strategic significance that it had partially lost in the aftermath of the Cold War. Israel claims the capability of securing the Western interests against the threats of such a trend.

(d) The globalisation phenomenon is evolving to dominate the cultural, economic and political spheres. It enhances the sole victorious power of the Cold War to impose its moral and cultural values all over the world. It also considers the adoption of the Western methods regarding democratic practices or organised relations within one society as being impeded by the Islamic culture. Many confrontations have occurred during the United Nations conferences of women and population in addition to debates on human rights issues on this basis. This is an expression of the Western misunderstanding of Islam.

In this regard, I want to highlight the existence of a dual Western approach regarding the phenomenon of Islamic extremism. Culturally, there exists a hostile feeling against the phenomenon, and the Islamic world, while politically, the West considers extremism to be a winning card to serve its short and medium term interests. This is in addition to the West's dual stance towards the countries, which adopted the Islamic ideology such as Iran and the Islamic groups. While it took a hostile stance against the former it harboured members of the latter despite the established relations between the two.

Leaders of the Middle East countries and especially the Egyptian leadership warned that terrorism was not linked to the religion of Islam but was a global phenomenon and was posing a direct threat. Confronting terrorism acquires close cooperation between countries. The real shift occurred when the USA and the European countries were exposed to direct danger after the 1993 explosion at the United States World Trade Centre; the explosions in the subway stations in Paris; the 1998 attacks against the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the incident of the United States military ship *US Cole* in 2000, besides some explosions against the United States military presence in Saudi Arabia.

Eventually, terrorism as a phenomenon became a significant issue for think tanks and decision-making institutions in the West, particularly the USA. This also led to the improving conditions within such countries enabling the latter to achieve success in the confrontation with terrorist groups accompanied by the necessary improvements in the respective political and economic conditions. This led to a curb on the reasons for extremism during a certain period.

In 1997, the Islamic group, Al Gamaa Al Islamia, in Egypt announced a cessation of violent acts against the state and a shift to political activity but its hostility towards the United States vis a vis the region remained. These Arab Afghans whose existence was attributed to the United States policy, went against the USA. Their leader, Osama Bin Laden, stated that his main objective is to eliminate the United States influence in the region and support all forms of revolt against the state. Such stances affected various areas such as Bosnia, Chechnya, Somalia, Yemen, Jammu and Kashmir and other states.

After the September events it was clear that the United States was not interested in following the causes of extremism and terrorism in the Middle East. There was no link between such causes and the United States political agenda planned before the New York and Washington events. This showed that all that the United States cared for was to maintain the international order and prevent any attempt of revolt either by states or groups which could impede the United States' domination over the world.

Accordingly, causes of terrorism and violence in the Middle East can be summarised as "the absence of justice and the imbalance between the Middle East countries". Certain factors need to be noted:-

(a) The Arab Israeli conflict is witnessing a wave of violence and terrorism reflecting the concept of threat against the Israeli State, which blocked all the routes against any opportunity for a peaceful settlement with the Palestinians. Israel also adopted an official policy aimed at eliminating Palestinian leaders and cadres closing the Oslo file completely and implementing a series of oppressive measures, destruction; demolition of houses and agricultural lands using its armed forces as in a real war.

(b) The situation in Iraq reflects the United States' and Britain's resolve not to ease the siege surrounding the Iraqi people as well as the Iraqi regime. This led to the growing support to lifting sanctions. Political regimes responded by organising flights, activating mutual trade and expanding communications and transportation with Iraq.

(c) The current United States administration's policies reflect a significant ignorance of the interests of the regional people in particular as well as a seclusion asserted by its stance on the Strategic Defense Initiative and its reluctance to fulfill its commitments towards the Tokyo Conference on global environmental risks. The aforementioned measures were aimed at appeasing the United States public opinion. The United States' views and propaganda focussed on imposing their values on other countries. This highlights the provocative effect of such policies.

All such factors led to hostility against

the USA in the region. The US has been pressurising the existing political regimes on joining the United States led coalition against terrorism. This is without taking into consideration negative repercussions on domestic fronts of the regional countries and threatening to push the whole area into a state of chaos.

When investigating the causes of extremism, one should take into consideration the causative factors within the country such as lack of democratic means or freedom of expression. However, on confronting this phenomenon of extremism and the globalisation campaign, several Middle East regimes have become aware of the importance of developing and upgrading their methods to cope with global changes. The most prominent results of such awareness were the political and economic reforms undertaken in several countries, establishing parliaments and developing electoral systems and most significantly the emergence of the power of the civil society and the non governmental organisations as an effective and influential element in shaping internal public opinion and decision-making.

## Water

Water has always been a source of dispute in the Middle East. This problem is getting worse as a result of the growing population. Such disputes have sometimes led to military action. There have been military clashes between Syria and Israel to control the Jordan River in 1967. Water of both the Litany and Yarmok Rivers were overused to satisfy the demand of the new immigrants in the Eighties and the Nineties. The water card is also used to settle regional political scores. For instance, the Israelis bombarded the canal carrying water to the Jordan valley to force

Jordan to stop the Palestinian raids across the Israeli-Jordanian borders, following the War in 1976. Another case in point is the cuts in the water flowing through Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to Syria and Iraq by Turkey because of Syrian support to the Kurdish opposition. The regional disputes and civil wars ended any chances of seeking a collective solution for the water scarcity in the region. The agreement of the riparian countries concerned is conditional to securing the IMF loans to finance water development projects. The following examples reflect the tense relations among the regional states:-

(a)    The Israeli objection to the Unity Dam construction on the Yarmok River requested by Jordan.

(b)    The Syrian refusal to be a party to an agreement among Syria, Jordan and Israel concerning the Yarmok River, because of its non-recognition of Israel.

(c)    The Syrian reluctance to reach an agreement with Turkey concerning the Orontus River because of the Syrian non-recognition of the Turkish domination over El Eskandarun District.

(d)    The construction of the Jongli Canal was impeded by the civil war in Sudan.

In the absence of any agreement or coordination in sharing the limited supplies of water in the region, some regional states are facing serious shortage of fresh water, such as Jordan and the occupied territories. Israel, on the contrary, has been accused of over-pumping the underground water shared by Palestinians in the occupied territories. Some studies estimated that only one fifth of the Western Bank water is left for the Palestinians. The water scarcity in Jordan was aggravated by the arrival of 350,000

Palestinians from Kuwait following the second Gulf War.

Among the proposals for solving the water shortage is a Turkish proposal to construct the Peace Pipelines which will carry the Syhan and the Kehan water to several regional countries. The length of the pipeline is 6,500 kms and the cost is $ 20 bn (in US dollars). This has rendered it impractical. The scarcity of such a vital ingredient for survival in some parts of the region has created vast potentials for regional conflict. Alternatives such as water desalination and recycling sewage water have proved to be costly and has affected public health.

## FIRST SESSION : THIRD PAPER
## AMBASSADOR AHMED HAGGAG

Two thirds of the Arab world are located in Africa, and the relations between the Arab world and Africa are centuries old. The Arab countries outside Africa, like the Gulf states, are very near to the Continent and have extensive relations with many African countries; politically, economically and culturally. Hence, trouble in Africa could adversely affect stability and peace in the Arab region.

Contrary to the euphoric hopes of the people of Africa, the removal of the colonial yoke did not usher in an era of peace, stability and socioeconomic progress. Since 1960, the watershed year of Africa's independence, conflicts and widespread destruction of life and property have plagued the African region. By one estimate, 150 million Africans are living in the throes of war and conflict.

Since the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, it has proclaimed to the world its commitment and competence as the primary agency to intervene in conflicts in Africa. Indeed, a key element in its charter is the member states' commitment to the principle of "peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiations, mediations, conciliation and arbitration". The same principle is enshrined in the new African Union, which will replace the OAU from next year. African leaders in the 1960's were conscious that border disputes could lead to armed conflicts, therefore, they decided during the first OAU summit in Cairo in 1964, to accept the borders inherited from the colonial rule as they were, though in several cases they were illogical and ran across tribes. It was decided that opening the door for negotiating new borders would definitely lead to armed conflicts.

The OAU's performance as an agency of regional conflict management is to a considerable extent a function of institutional principles and provisions. The Organisation was very much a product of its time, and its principles and provisions reflect the aspirations, concerns and fears of the founding fathers, which reflected the regional policies of the time. It evolved as a compromise solution to the ideological disputes and divisions.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing trend towards greater reliance on regional organisations. First, the United Nations was burdened with many responsibilities of maintaining peace and security in several parts of the world – more than it could realistically cope with. Second, there is a conviction that in certain conflicts and disputes, regional organisations and even sub-regional ones could be more capable of coping with them. Third, the belief held by the governments and public opinion of major countries is that they are burdened excessively with financial costs and human resources in contributing to the UN operations and that it is time for regional organisations to do more in settling conflicts and disputes amongst their members.

Therefore, the OAU Summit in Cairo in 1993 established a "Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa", together with a "Peace Fund" to finance the activities of the Mechanism. From the very beginning it was apparent that the

Organisation could not entertain or administer large scale peace–keeping operations in conflict areas, since their financial cost is beyond its means, with the additive of lack of experience in this field. It was decided to leave peace-keeping operations to the UN, since all African countries are members of the world organisation and it is not logical to absolve it completely from the responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the African continent. The "mechanism" focusses on prevention and management of conflicts. The "Peace Fund" could receive assistance from non-African sources. The OAU should also rely more on the sub-regional organisations in settling disputes, since they have an immediate interest in this regard.

The OAU embarked on a new policy of promoting democracy and transparency in the continent. Its record is mixed, but undemocratic regimes are now officially shunned from its ranks. It deputes observers for many elections in several parts of Africa, since apparently undemocratic elections often lead to internal conflicts.

The Arab countries, especially those in Africa, actively participate in conflict resolution in political and financial terms. Some of them contributed contingents to peace-keeping operations and have military cooperation with many African countries. Through the institutions of Afro-Arab cooperation, a lot has been done in the economic and cultural fields.

**FIRST SESSION : DISCUSSANTS**

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL BS MALIK, PVSM, AVSM (RETD)

Ambassador Ahmed Haggag, in his presentation has made out a strong case about the conflict in Africa since 1960 that still affects about 150 million people. The events of the last few years have proved that not only the Arabs but also the African people have been adversely affected by the events in the region due their close cultural, political and economic linkages.

Understandably emphasis was laid on the 1963 resolve of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the new African Union, about commitment of the member states to the "peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiations, mediations, conciliation and arbitration". The evolution of the OAU has indeed been based on a compromise solution to the ideological disputes and divisions. In that, even the borders that run across tribes have not been opened for reconciliation to avoid conflict. There is something about treating the borders as sacrosanct despite all the infirmities, that we in South Asia could learn from the OAU experience, to remove at least one great cause of conflict in our region.

Despite problems, the OAU has been an agency of regional conflict management thus lowering the burden of the UN and providing a greater understanding of the local and regional issues. The "Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa" together with a "Peace Fund" established in 1993 to focus solely on prevention and management of conflict without prejudice to the peacekeeping operations of the UN, has been a remarkable step. It has a good record in ensuring democracy to take root through fair elections by providing

observers, and thus removing this source of conflict. Since regional problems have an internal character affecting neighbouring countries, we too need to seriously examine the SAARC route.

The achievements of Afro-Arab cooperation have been mentioned. Some examples of cooperation like the significant role played by Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DROC) in 1998 would be worth recalling. One would like to know and learn from their experience in coping with terrorism.

During the presentations, the alternative role for military was discussed in the African context. It can be argued that military force acts as a resin to cement together all parts of a nation state. The experience of employing the Army on other tasks was tried out during the Fifties in India. However, the 1962 confrontation with China proved that this experiment was a disaster due to a marked drop in the fighting efficiency. On the other hand, there are areas like regional negotiations where the military, with its vast cumulative experience of the land and sea borders, can play a vital role. This has been termed by some as military diplomacy.

Mr ElMahgoub has made out a fool proof case about the origin of the problems of the Middle East, explaining why the region has continued to be one of the hot spots. One of the reasons cited is the overlapping nature of the chronic security problems. Terrorism, the Iraq problem, water shortage and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are but some of them. Apparently, globalisation and foreign intervention have added to the woes. Another reason cited is the military establishment of Israel playing an

effective and overarching role in the political decisions in the Middle East. It must be said to the credit of Mr ElMahgoub that he has not spared the Arabs in his paper, for their share of the responsibility in contravention of various peace attempts. He also does not spare the Israelis for not following up the Egyptian - Israeli peace treaty of 1979, with other Arab states. At the same time Mr El Mahgoub has not overlooked the transition in international affairs in the early Nineties, which resulted in substantial peace efforts in the Middle East. The efforts to revive an enhanced Arab regional cooperation, and the strengthening of the Arab League economic cooperation in order to invigorate Arab solidarity have been well covered. The role played by Egypt comes out quite clearly in these efforts. Rejection of the policy of isolating Iraq by the Arab world has been brought out with forceful arguments.

Commenting on the post 11 September events, the American policy has been identified with keeping the initiative in American hands; and secondly, restoring the confidence of all Americans by asserting its superiority. It is felt with some justification that in the absence of a collective security system in the Middle East, the region may seek to have stronger ties with Iran, Russia and China. The shadow of the Cold War, apparently, has still not left the region.

The central point of all arguments remains recognition of the problems being faced by Palestinians and the Iraqis along with reconciliation in the Middle East through an understanding reached between Iran and the Arab world. The protracted Iraqi crisis and occupation of three islands belonging to the United Arab Emirates have been cited as the constant source of instability. Great faith has been placed in the mechanisms developed at Cairo and Amman summits to forge common Arab action enabling the Arab league to face

various challenges in the region. Turkey has come in for some criticism in the paper. This is due to apparent Israeli attempts for an alliance with it for penetration of the African horn.

Hope has also been placed in the Mediterranean region witnessing cooperation between European and Arab countries. The examples cited are the American and European readiness to economically help Algiers to fight internal terrorism and Libya getting back to the regional cooperation organisations.

It needs to be argued that most of the problems of the region stem from unprecedented urbanisation as quoted by Mr Ibrahim A Karawan in Adelphi Paper No 314 of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), UK. "Islamism's growth", he states, " is a manifestation of social, economic and political discontent in societies which do not have - or do not allow - institutonalised means to channel opposition." The West, unfortunately, has not been concentrating on this aspect apparently for business reasons; to have regimes with tighter control concentrated in the hands of a few.

Lieutenant General Raghavan in his paper has made some very important points regarding the changes in the regional security perspectives. Security and the military power, he has argued, would transcend the limits of regional perspectives. The changes after the Cold War have been traced to show how the global outlook gave way to the regional outlook due to impact of the political, economic and technological parameters. The changes in the nature of the conflict, from between states to those between ethnic groups within states, he feels, have resulted in intervention on strategic, political and humanitarian considerations.

Terrorism has rightly been identified as the major threat to national and regional security. One would have liked to know more about terrorism and the factors that would cause it to increase and decrease from time to time.

Defining the present times as an era of contradictions and antagonisms, three contradictions have been explained, ie globalisation and fragmentation, peace and conflict and prosperity and deprivation. The antagonisms that add to insecurity according to Lieutenant General Raghavan are integration and migration, sovereignty and intervention, consolidation and proliferation of security instruments. The last antagonism has been explained in terms of desire of some states to have monopoly over the WMD while denying the same to others. The last antagonism concerns the multicultural societies and the societal groups who fear the loss of their identity. It is argued that one or more of these tendencies have to win before the current period can acquire a name of its own and drop the post Cold War tag. The economic aspects vis a vis the WTO while discussing the Kyoto Accord on environmental discipline are important.

After making the substantive point about the way we make war and the likelihood of increased intervention, Lieutenant General Raghavan homes on to the problems being faced by Egypt and India. The point about the Israel-Palestine conflict demonstrating all the contradictions and antagonisms is extremely well made.

Considerable attention has been given in the paper to peculiarities of the South Asian region. One of the features is the geographical limit in strategic terms due to areas further afar having a bearing on the region. If we accept the analogy, nature abhors vacuum;

power does so more ardently. It follows that to understand a region one has to cruise outwards till resistance is met from areas of influence. Applying this construct, the South Asian region would seem to extend well beyond the boundary of old undivided India, to Eastern Iran, South Asian republics, South China and the ASEAN to include the Indian Ocean.

The second feature is that the region defies the regional security definition of Barry Buzan as there are no dominant security concerns to link the countries of the region together; neither are there any common national security aspects. One might say, lacking an external threat the region has envisioned a phantom threat or what has been described in the paper as "Indophobia", to give their security concerns a *raison d'être*. If we consider the mosaic of countries from the perspective of geographic location, economic capabilities, and religious and cultural history, we might conclude this region to be a laboratory of multicultural and multiethnic existence. As in fact it was, with some exceptions, under the British. Each state has been exerting a far greater share of influence making it a "region of fractured States, an enticing world of little cohesion".

South Asia has been witness to Kargil-type limited and even full scale wars. Attempts at peace making and peace building have resulted in dialogue between states and dissident groups. Problems in the region can be traced to outside interference in the region and some by the countries who had earlier suffered at the hands of the British due to unequal treaties be it in drawing of the Durand Line, the MacMahon Line, or any other arrangement. It is unfortunate that the people in power could never rise above these old formulations and rid the region of these

impediments. Sensing success of the policy to create artificial parity, through economic and military aid selectively, China and the US ensured that the region remained unstable so as not to challenge their interests elsewhere. India was forced to lean on Russia to safeguard her interests. There are various reasons given as to why the US did not intervene but certainly the decline in the influence of Russia internationally encouraged China to introduce nuclear weapons in the region to counter balance Indian nuclear capabilities.

The point about the India-China-Pakistan strategic triangle , has been extremely well made based on four conditions. Firstly, autonomy of decision. Secondly, action against one affecting others. Thirdly, cooperation by two against the third and fourthly, preference by all to continue the mutually reinforcing and influencing behaviour. The consequent nuclear arms race, crisis, instability and accidental war require complementary initiatives to stabilise the nuclear risk and work towards a stabilising regime. For deterrence to be stable, the confronting nuclear powers at one level have to cooperate, to share information, despite their inherent antagonism.

The point made about no state being able to tackle terrorist threats on its own and that cooperation in the Middle East as also in South Asia are essential is valid. This would require international adherence to some accepted norms.

Comprehensive security should include the economic, societal, environmental, political security of the people including military; this would be the ideal way forward. The concluding view that countries like Egypt and India will have to cope with wider regional security aspects was well made. One would have liked to know the route to be taken for the same amidst the existing relationships. If cooperation were indeed possible, would the countries be that vulnerable against terrorism?

For control over terrorism it would probably be in order to reflect on the views of Reinhold Niebuhr who said "authority of the Government is not primarily the authority of law nor the authority of force, but the authority of the community itself. Laws are obeyed because the community accepts them as corresponding on the whole to its conception of justice – the police power of a government cannot be a pure political artifact. It is an arm of the community's body. If the body is in pieces the arm cannot integrate it." Society has a great responsibility in creating conditions where it becomes harder for terrorism to thrive and for terrorist to operate. The culture of obeying the rule of law in itself is a big deterrent to terrorism.

## TAREK FAHMY MOHAMED ISMAIL
### NCMES

What is the role of Egypt and India in the new international security order? What about options for India in particular? Or for that matter for other countries in South Asia and the Middle East. What about Pakistan, China and others? There are many unresolved issues such as the case of Iraq. Regarding role of India in arms control and disarmament and assistance to solve the future problems and tensions, the evolving international order must witness a cooperation between states and international organisations. Security of some of our border states is also of concern. International security involves generation of options and priorities for the sake of transparency especially as sought between South Asia and the Middle East.

# FIRST SESSION : GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

## Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)

Firstly I would like to complement all the three presenters. Ambassador Haggag has done us great service by covering the subject from the African point of view. Mr Mahgoub raised a point about the Iraq situation. Why is it that Egypt and the rest of the nations have not been successful in influencing the US and its allies to stop the attacks and sanctions on Iraq despite reasonably close relations between Egypt and the US? A related aspect is how stable is the Saddam regime today? Would it be removed or overthrown? The other point is the way the Western world equates terrorism with Islam. Given your close relationship with the USA, how are you coping with it and are you making any efforts and being listened to by the US?

Ambassador Haggag did not make a mention of the 'interference' as we see it by the former colonial powers in the African states. Was it deliberately left out or is it so insignificant that it merits no attention?

Regarding the comparison Lieutenant General Malik made of the SAARC and the OAU, the two are not similar because of India's overwhelming size. Is that a deterrent? Would you see that from the point of view of the OAU and how it works?

A mention has been made of peace-keeping operations in Africa and how India is part of it. It is a matter of record that India has participated in every single peace-keeping operation in Africa since the UN was constituted.

## Brigadier V K Nair, VSM (Retd)

My question is for Lieutenant General Raghavan. When discussing, you mentioned that part of our MoD Annual Report states that security is based on the territorial limits of India. While you have touched upon what the Government of India has mentioned, there was one little aspect pertaining to Tibet that was absent; was it left out deliberately? There has been no mention of change in the security perceptions of the powers.

## Major General Ramesh C Chopra, AVSM (Retd)

I shall focus on two issues. One is that the spectrum of South Asia is different as compared to the independent Central Asian states. In South Asia there are different ethnic compositions, religions, languages, and all states are not democratic. What is common is the underdevelopment and the recent upsurge in terrorism.

So while global terrorism is being tackled by a global coalition, for the South Asian region to expect the global coalition to tackle terrorism in this region is to be very naïve. It would be a short lived and cosmetic one and that too as long as it suits their interests. Hence we have to tackle terrorism on our own. Unfortunately, South Asia includes a country that is endowed with a reasonably powerful military and also happens to be a sponsor of terrorism. And in this, India has to take the initiative.

## Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

Lieutenant General Raghavan mentioned that terrorism is the dominant feature of international security. As of now it is. We have dealt with how we should respond to a specific act of terrorism. But,

broadly, how should we react to terrorism? What kind of security reaction should we have? I would like to put this question to Mr Mahgoub also. When I was posted in Egypt, countries from Algeria in the West to all the way across North Africa were plagued by terrorist disruptions. Egypt was quite successful in tackling the scourge of terrorism by the time I left for my next posting. Is there any cooperation or a mechanism amongst the countries of North Africa to deal with this problem? Africa has a concept of itself as a region. There are bound to be lessons to be learnt from Africa.

Within the Arab states, is there any discussion on how to tackle terrorism? I am sure there are some lessons to be learnt.

In Afghanistan, the wait is for a permanent government to take over to discuss terrorism. The situation is different here including on our border.

On the concept of a region, Africa has a concept of itself as a region. We do not have the feeling of Asia being a region. Economically, politically, and ethnically, there are commonalities overshadowed by differences. We are still defining regions. We ought to be careful when we look at success stories in Africa. But we do need to study the African experience. I conclude with a question for Ambassador Haggag. There was a discussion on conflict resolution mechanism on Egyptian initiative. What happened to that?

**Major General YK Gera (Retd)**

Are the Arabs going to get together to do something about the Israeli-Palestinian problem?

**Vice Admiral M K Roy, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)**

There has been an international conference in Tokyo on safety of the sea lanes of communication for oil from the Gulf to the Gulf of Hormuz, Malacca, and South China Seas, because all nations depend on this for their development. Suez has been critical for oil and that is totally in the hands of the Egyptians. Egypt has a tremendous use of Suez as a choke point, as a weapon. Hence the safety of Suez is a must. Will the control of the Suez by Egypt remain a weapon in their hands or will Egypt let it go to the East?

**Lieutenant Colonel BB Moitra (Retd)**

Egypt is the foremost country having enough influence in the thinking of the East and the West. In the Arab countries, lately the origins of terrorism is being traced to this part of the world. Egypt could give a valuable contribution by playing a prominent part in modulating religious fanaticism. This would be a valuable contribution for India too.

**Lieutenant General V R Raghavan, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM (Retd)**

There has been a query on Tibet. It must be remembered that any attempt to look at Tibet as a geographical entity confirming to Southern Asian definition would create more problems. The anxieties about Tibet in the Chinese establishment are very serious. An attempt to reopen the matter by stating that Tibet is a part of Southern Asia will not be correct.

On the nuclear front, without a dialogue, we cannot reach the desired level of deterrence between the three countries.

Deterrence comprises clearly and mutually understood and agreed upon regimes. Transparency and application matters. Among nuclear powers, information will stabilise deterrence. It is the geo politics and other dynamics of conflict between these three countries that are coming in the way of cooperation between them. One wonders what kind of force structure each country is planning? The three countries will have to work out the way for a dialogue leading to deterrence.

On the reasons for the limited success of dialogues, is the problem of dominance by India. At all meetings this is the clear feeling among India's neighbours. But then in all such meetings if India is going to be blamed then India's cooperation will come at a price. The other countries of this region will have to adapt to this trend. This of course creates its own fears in international relations. The Indian Government for a change has now graduated from being defensive to taking matters as they come. The other countries are welcome to state ways by which their fears can be allayed. India will not do anything just because a country thinks something ought to be the way it thinks.

Regarding the role of foreign powers in India, there was a very strong response in the aftermath of President Clinton's visit to China. This response must be understood as emanating from the post Pokhran environment. There was a communiqué with a clearly implied meaning that at least at that time through the communiqué China was being anointed as a kind of custodian of peace. That certainly did not go down well with us – we will run our own destiny. The Clintonian communiqué clearly posited China as the major power responsible for the stability of this region. This India cannot accept; after all China has created a hole in our security. There was justification for our response. The role of foreign powers from the Indian point of view should be one of facilitating and influencing the behaviour of those who are not conducting themselves according to the rules of international behaviour. *But the role of foreign powers for India does not mean mediation, armed intervention or arbitration or deciding what is right or wrong for the affected country.* The moment the major powers, particularly the US, understood that, and changed their foreign policy direction accordingly, the situation would improve considerably. India will not accept any *push, mediation or arbitration.* They must accept a position of facilitating and recognising the apprehension India undergoes regarding Pakistan for facilitating the process of terrorism. Nobody expects the US to take punitive measures against Pakistan but the fact that they can see the shared dangers - the terrorist organisations operating there and recognising that – is facilitation.

To say that there is no role for foreign powers would be wrong. But the role should be one where India shall not go ahead with any relationship with a super power where there is absence of mutual respect. Nobody denied the super power status of the US but it cannot be a relationship of patronising. This is what drives India's foreign policy response. It may seem stronger than necessary.

11 September 2001 brought us to a new threshold where we can only succeed in our mission against terrorism by collaboration and coalitions. And this will have to transcend regional differences.

**Mr Abdel Halim El Mahgoub**

As far as Egypt's relationship with the

US, regarding the Arab world and the Middle East is concerned, or for that matter, Egypt's part in fighting terrorism, I wish to clarify that there is a huge difference between the US-Egypt relations in comparison to the US-Israeli relations. Israel has a major role to play in the US strategic decisions; in pushing forward cooperation between them. As far as the US-Egypt relations are concerned, it is a long way for Egypt to play a role in the Middle East. The Western countries do not acquiesce to any Egyptian role in the Middle East. It is the question of Arab nationalism in that region which has resulted in the US not agreeing to Egypt playing a role in this region. Arab nationalism gives a very important place to Egypt's having a say in this region, and Egyptian foreign policy gives weight to Arab nationalism and to the concept of a united Arab. The USA and Europe understand this very well. I wish to make this point before I answer any questions on the role of Egypt in the Middle East. There is a problem regarding the Iraqi question – the US perceives that the Iraqi issue is the substructure for international order.

We had an Arab summit on Afghanistan in March 2001. At the same time Egypt is also trying to do something about the Balkan situation. Egypt did succeed in making dents on several occasions and even managed to defuse the crisis situation that had arisen between the UN and the Iraqi regime, which was threatening to flare up. The regime of sanctions is a threat to Saddam. (Poor audibility in rest of the recording)

# GLOBALISATION, INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY

## SECOND SESSION

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|---|---|
| Chairman | : **Shri CR Gharekhan** |
| *First Paper* | : Ambassador Omran El-Shafei |
| *Second Paper* | : Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd) |
| *Discussants* | : Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)<br>Mr Abdel Halim ElMahgoub |

## SECOND SESSION : FIRST PAPER

## AMBASSADOR OMRAN EL-SHAFEI

The question of armed intervention, on behalf of the international community in the internal affairs of a state is not a new one. The entire Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth Century witnessed varied sorts of militia interventions as a result of the rivalry between the great powers for building their empires and mastering international sea routes. Most of these wars give the noblest of purposes as a justification. In effect, most of the wars led to the destruction of entire indigenous communities together with their cultures and civilisations. A great number of Third World countries continue to suffer not only from the loss of their nationhood, but from deprivation of their own natural resources and fortunes that belonged to their ancestors.

Two major World Wars added to the mistrust of the population particularly in those countries where the people were not directly involved. In spite of the fact that more than half a century has passed since the end of the Second World War, and in spite of the many positive changes and developments in the international scene bringing about and intensifying international cooperation among nations, the international community, with good reason, remains reluctant to sacrifice the principle of state sovereignty and territorial integrity in favour of the notion of humanitarian intervention.

Article 2 paragraph 7 of the UN Charter bluntly states that nothing contained in it shall authorise the UN to intervene in matters that are necessarily within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Under Chapter VII, the Charter says that this principle of "non-intervention in the internal affairs" shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures that relates not only to acts of accession but also to "threats to peace and breaches of peace". A broad interpretation of these terms could lead to interventions authorised by the Security Council, while in other cases where there is no consensus in the Council, no authorised intervention can take place. Examples recorded are the Council Resolution 794 of 03 December 1992 which broke new ground by deciding to intervene in Somalia for strictly humanitarian purposes. There was not even a pretext of consent from the Government of Somalia because such a government did not exist. There was negligible spillover of refugees to other countries. The plight of the Somalians was the sole rationale for invoking Chapter VII of the Charter, authorising the use of "all necessary means" to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief. This meant in practice taking sides and acting with far-from-minimal force. A *de-facto* right to intervene was thus beginning to emerge.

The task of the UN forces in Bosnia are not described in terms of peacekeeping at all. Its task was to secure the delivery of humanitarian goods and services and to protect civilians in declared "safe havens". The mandate was subsequently extended to cover other activities including the use of air power invoking Chapter VII all the time.

During the last decade or so, the view has been strengthened that where a state is inflicting infringements of their common humanity, the international community has a right, some would even argue, an obligation, to try and restrain it. To question the Charter's

categorical proscription when the underlying justification is so compelling and the practical difficulty of making the Organisation do what it should is a great responsibility. We are brought against a more acute dilemma when military interventions take place without proper authorisation from the international community. In retrospect did NATO, in the absence of prior UN approval, have the right to act the way it did during the Kosovo crisis? And second, did it have to do what it did the way it did? While intervention to end or prevent crimes against humanity has multiple grounds, armed intervention is another matter. To the extent that the UN Charter forms the backbone of the international community's efforts to regulate the use of force, no state or collection of states can use force against another, save the purpose of self-defence. There are those who argue that there have come to be standards in the sphere of human rights that are not only binding, but standards recognised by the international community not to be derogated from. When these standards are violated, not only are the victims injured, but also the community of states. Presumably, such norms create not only the right to intervene but also the duty to do so. Most would limit the norms to be held only in the case of extreme abuse, such as slavery, genocide and apartheid. Few could claim that it includes most of the civil rights. In all cases, human rights are transcending and constituting legitimate concern of the international community. The concern can be manifested in many forms and in particular in longstanding measures.

In the absence of an incontestably universal new norm of intervention, the exceptional justification required for cases like Kosovo do in fact explicitly reinforce the stand taken already. We should add that before

armed intervention can be justified, it must meet other requirements. A norm of intervention whose time has come may be reliably implemented if those states that will intervene act with due regard for the opinion of others. To disregard the opinions of those, and in particular who are far from powerless threatens to destroy the chance of establishing the norm.

The issue of sponsorship or the agency which authorises and controls the intervention, must be decided upon in advance with the dissenters to the intervention. Other conditions for intervening must be ensured such as:-

(a)    The probability of success must be high when a test of feasibility is met, and recourse to force must be the last resort.

(b)    Thorough and committed diplomacy be deployed beforehand.

(c)    Military force be used with restraint.

(d)    Intervention be proportionate to the offence or the "good to be achieved".

(e)    Be respectful to civilian life and safety.

(f)    The rules of humanitarian international law are observed.

Secessionist conflicts continue to occur. The question that arises is how does the international community react to them? I will repeat the question about territorial integrity and humanitarian intervention in a different context – is the international community still, with great reason, reluctant to sacrifice the principle to territorial integrity to the principle of self-determination? I believe the answer is in the affirmative. Separatist movements will continue to claim their rights and their

freedom to pursue such rights. This fact and the exercise involved will confront us with situations of instability and violence. It may involve committing acts of repression including ethnic-cleansing and other equally brutal massive human rights violations.

Under the UN Charter, both territorial integrity and self-determination are sacred. During the last three or four decades, the emphasis was laid on external and not internal self-determination. It is generally recognised that the exercise of self-determination should not cause the disintegration of states. In our region, both the Charter of the League of Arab States and that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) emphasise the sanctity of the borders recognised by the member states. Both in the Arab and the African regions the problem of minorities and their aspirations including cecession could arise. During the Cold War, in addition to ethnic and religious minorities, outside powers provided some of the repressive regimes in Africa with arms and aid for no better a reason than that their rival superpower was supporting another faction.

In both Africa and the Arab regions, it is possible that internal armed conflicts may compel the central power to use excessive force to face the situation. It is difficult to forecast whether international military intervention would be called for, and under what conditions? The Palestinians, in their quest for the exercise of their right to self-determination, are facing now, not only punitive measures from Israel but also excessive and disproportionate force. The situation could worsen with the intervention of regional or extra-regional powers; with the failure of the international community to stop the violence. It is difficult to foresee the outcome. There is no doubt that what is urgently needed is the respect of norms and conventions applicable in similar situations, in particular the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

One can only conclude that situations requiring military intervention vary. There must be agreed upon norms and conditions to apply. Military intervention can only take place under the aegis of the UN. It should be based upon international law and have the consent of the international community.

## THE IMPACT OF THE 11 SEPTEMBER 2001 EVENTS ON THE PROCESS OF GLOBALISATION

The terrorist attacks on the United States of America shocked the Western public opinion and also unified countries in an unprecedented manner. Major world events have been received with concern by certain sections of world public opinion: the Berlin blockade was felt mostly among Europeans particularly the Germans; Vietnam war brought about division and dissent among Western powers; Balkan war (Bosnia and Kosovo) raised controversial issues within the European and world public opinion, and the 11th September events politicised and antagonised Western public opinion without exception.

Perhaps the first victim of the 11th September attacks was the concept and process of globalisation itself. The post-Cold War era what with the increasing hegemony of one single power, the USA, led to the belief that armed conflict caused by ideological differences or conflicting interests would come to an end. Many believed that intensified interdependence between states in economic, social and financial domains, accomplished by the spread of information technology, the predominance of the free

economy system and English as a medium for world communication would play in favour of more harmonious relations between nations with different cultures rather than relations based on conflict and enmity. On the contrary, there are those who now believe that the events of 11th September buried with it not only the World Trade Centres, but also the hopes for a peaceful interdependent world based on mutual respect among many ideals. It seemed to many that the immediate and inescapable outcome of the 11th September events is the division, and conflict in the long run between two worlds, one that is open and non-secular and the other conservative and secular. They predict that unless serious efforts are made to reconcile the two worlds and illuminate causes of hostility, a confrontationist attitude will be the future pattern and content of the relations between the two existing different and antagonistic worlds.

## In Brief

From the factors that I have mentiond here, the following points emerge :-

(a)    International relations are based, in their very essence, on cooperation among independent sovereign state. States are at the core of international order. And sovereign will is at the source of its legitimacy.

(b)    While the advocates of humanitarian intervention view it as means of stopping grave and massive violations of human rights within states, others believe that it could impinge on a state's sovereignty.

(c)    In his annual report on the work of the UN and his statement before the

54th session of the General Assembly in September 1999 the Secretary General put forward the concept of Humanitarian Intervention. He stressed the responsibility of states towards the protection of their citizens' human rights regardless of their political, social or economic regimes. He advocated that the state's sovereignty should not overrule individual sovereignty.

(d)    The key proposal contained in the UNSG's report triggered off a controversy among UN member states; some welcomed them unreservedly while others rejected them outright.

(e)    Egypt, with other member states, called for discussing the concept of humanitarian intervention in an open intergovernmental dialogue with maximum transparency. In this context, its position is based on the following five principles.

(i)    Respect for a state's sovereignty, as enshrined in the UN Charter.

(ii)    The need to reach consensus on the conceptual framework, norms, criteria and modalities of intervention designed to bring an end to the ongoing grave and massive violations of international humanitarian law.

(iii)    The irreplaceable role of the UN and the impressiveness of the provisions of its Charter in mandating intervention through its bodies responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(iv)  The respect for international law.

(v)  The necessity of taking into consideration and accepting the cultural and social diversities of countries and nations in the process of agreeing upon international standards for human rights and values.

## CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS : SHRI CHINMAYA R GHAREKHAN

Thank you Ambassador Shafei for a very lucid presentation of this rather controversial subject. You have presented a discourse in a very large measure akin to the Indian viewpoint especially the point about the imperative necessity to lay down the objective criteria and norms for humanitarian intervention.

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar requires no introduction. I was in Iraq in 1992 when he was offered the difficult and challenging post of the command of UN Forces for Yugoslavia, which he commanded with great distinction. The United Nations Secretary General was very keen that he continued but he did not; the statesman and the diplomat in him foresaw the increasing intervention by NATO and, hence, more trouble. I now hand over the floor to Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar for making his presentation.

## SECOND SESSION : SECOND PAPER

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL SATISH NAMBIAR, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (RETD)

There is a growing view that military conflicts between the most advanced and major powers are unlikely, because available military technology has made warfare in the classic sense too costly, and in fact, 'unwinnable', except where the asymmetry is too great. Even in the developing world, conventional war does not appear to be the preferred option. Even so, some social scientists and futurologists have expressed the view that in the Twenty First Century we are likely to experience war, violence, upheaval and change, on an unprecedented scale. Recent events in the very first year of this millennium appear to substantiate this forecast. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on 11 September 2001 resulted in previously unimaginable casualties to innocent civilians on what was till then considered the impregnable American homeland. But more importantly, the dastardly act mobilised the international community into an almost universal coalition against terrorism as a global phenomenon. The military operations undertaken by the USA and some other allies against the perpetrators of the attacks of 11 September 2001 have resulted in the demolition of a repressive and obscurantist regime in Afghanistan, devastated the Afghan countryside and infrastructure, and caused considerable death and misery to many innocent Afghans. Whereas there has been some disapproval of the American led actions in Afghanistan by sections of society in a few countries, most of the governments across the globe have either strongly supported the actions or conveyed implicit support by refraining from any form of criticism of the actions. Hence, it would appear that just as some forms of global consensus have been formulated in dealing with aspects of the economy, environment, energy, space and so on, a global response seems to have emerged in so far as dealing with international terrorism is concerned.

Equally, given some of the developments in the closing years of the Twentieth Century, there can be little doubt that activities like 'genocide' or 'ethnic cleansing' are not likely to be allowed to go unchallenged or unchecked by the international community. While delivering the Colonel Pyara Lal Memorial Lecture at the United Service Institution of India in September 1999, Mr Virendra Dayal, a former Under Secretary General at the United Nations and Chef-de-Cabinet to the Secretary General, had stated "it would appear that the times are gone when a State could humiliate and destroy its own people behind the rigid facade of sovereignty, and claim protection under the United Nations Charter that forbids intervention in matters essentially under the domestic jurisdiction of the State". At the commencement of the Twenty First Century, "for better or for worse, the security of a State and its unity and integrity, devolves on the security and well being of those who reside in that State. It is no longer possible for a State to presume that it can have, for all time, totally inviolate borders, and citizens living in deprivation and terror within those borders. The situation today is that if the citizens of a State are being hurt, the State itself can become mortally wounded". Even while other forms of pressure and sanctions can be applied there is increasing talk, particularly in

the Western world, of the use of military force for what is being termed "humanitarian intervention".

In his report at the Millennium Summit, the UN Secretary General had stated among other things that, "Humanitarian intervention is a sensitive issue, fraught with political difficulty and not susceptible to easy answers. But surely no legal principle – not even sovereignty – can ever shield crimes against humanity. Where such crimes occur and peaceful attempts to halt them have been exhausted, the Security Council has a moral duty to act on behalf of the international community. The fact that we cannot protect people everywhere is no reason for doing nothing when we can. Armed intervention must always remain the option of last resort, but in the face of mass murder it is an option that cannot be relinquished." It is of some significance that in November 2000 at a symposium at the International Peace Academy, he found it appropriate to amplify what the UN interprets as 'humanitarian action'. And in doing so he made it amply clear that one needs to get "right away from using the term *humanitarian* to describe *military operations*". He does concede that military intervention can be undertaken for humanitarian motives because there are times when the use of force may be legitimate and necessary since there may be no other way to save masses of people from extreme violence and slaughter. He is, however, unambiguous in asserting that such military intervention should not be confused with humanitarian action as otherwise we will find ourselves using phrases like "humanitarian bombing".

It is somewhat ironic that in a speech apparently given sometime in late summer 1999 in Canada, the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel is reported to have claimed that NATO's campaign in Kosovo was the first in history to be fought for entirely humanitarian purposes. NATO, he claimed, had no economic, political, or strategic interest in Kosovo and was acting purely for altruistic reasons and, therefore, made the campaign a "just war". With such interpretation about military intervention, therefore, it may be useful to go back in time and examine the theory of 'just war', apparently propounded in the Western world by Augustine, an early Christian writer. He had suggested that 'just war' is action designed above all else, to restore a violated moral order. Long before that, the Bhagavad Gita, the Holy Scripture of Hinduism, tells us of "battle, stern and fierce; of resistance to *Adharma* (in its loosest meaning, wrongdoing or lack of righteousness), wherever it is; the Master Himself descends again and again in a human body, to restore *Dharma* (righteousness), to uproot *Adharma*".

Some essential principles that govern the application of military forces in the prosecution of "just war" merit mention because they are relevant to the aspect of military intervention for humanitarian purposes. These fall as much in the political domain as in the military, and need enumeration in order to better understand the dilemma of the military that has to deal with the situation on the ground. "Just war" was only to be undertaken as a last resort, when all other means to resolve the conflict had been expended. The onus of establishing the "justness" of the cause rested firmly upon the person or the state that resorts to it. The declaration of such war was only to be made by a legitimate authority; which emphasises the relationship between the moral precept and the political culture. The stress in "just war" is on the protection of non-combatants.

And its tradition is a philosophical combination of proportionality and discrimination. It can, of course, be debated (as Kofi Annan has done) whether war can be fought for humanitarian purposes, in context of the fact that war actually represents a failure of diplomacy and reason, where truth becomes the first casualty.

When applying the theory of just war to deal with military intervention for humanitarian purposes, the aspect that needs to be borne in mind is that it falls in the domain of politics; particularly when it is to do with who decides that humanitarian intervention is called for. It may not be out of place to mention here that Western governments have been highly selective in this regard; particularly where their own interests were not directly involved. Even in the case of Haiti, it was American interest in stemming the flow of Haitian refugees to the USA, rather than humanitarian concerns that propelled the intervention. The military dimension of a humanitarian intervention does not, therefore, stand by itself. It is related to political aims and objectives; either a national aim or the joint aim of an international grouping. Hence the military dilemma today is to subordinate military planning and methods of execution to meet political ends that are not always clearly defined, even within the political system. A military operation needs a clearly defined purpose and an achievable objective. More and more the military appears to be used on the international arena to support political rhetoric. There is no better recent example of this than the application of military force by NATO to deal with the situation in Kosovo in March 1999.

NATO intervention in Yugoslavia has raised a number of issues that need objective scrutiny and analysis, to assess what the future holds for the international community in dealing with humanitarian intervention. There can be no difference of opinion on the humanitarian dimension of the situation that obtained in Kosovo, which, to say the least, was sad and depressing. Innocent people were subjected to displacement, pain and misery. Unfortunately, this is the tragic and inevitable outcome of all such situations – of civil war, insurgencies, rebel movements, and terrorist activity, occurring frequently in many countries of the developing world, and I dare say, in some parts of the developed world also. Notwithstanding all that one heard and saw on CNN and BBC and other Western agencies, and in the daily briefings of the NATO authorities at the time, it was even then obvious, and more so now with additional facts increasingly coming to light, that the blame for the humanitarian crisis that emerged in Kosovo cannot be placed at the door of the Yugoslavian authorities alone. It is no revelation that the reports put out in the electronic media are not always totally reliable because, more often than not, they project what is pre-determined policy, or what the propaganda machinery of the belligerents convey, or what gets the agencies maximum viewership. Those of us who have had the opportunity of seeing such situations at first hand, do not bluff ourselves into believing that there is true freedom of the media in the world's most powerful democracy, or some of the lesser ones. Whether the people of Kosovo fled from their homes and hearths due to NATO bombs, or the Serbian authorities, or the KLA, or all three, will continue to be debated for some time. It is now becoming increasingly evident with the fresh reports emerging even in the ubiquitous Western media, that the human catastrophe in Kosovo was provoked by NATO intervention in the form of bombing and air strikes. Most of the refugees whose return

was NATO's major war aim, had been forced out of Kosovo after the commencement of the bombing campaign. The responsibility for that humanitarian crisis lay squarely at NATO's doors. But the rest of the international community shares responsibility for the inability to raise its voice against such unilateral armed intervention. The intervention in East Timor also has lessons. With the Australian led force acting at the behest of the Western world. The saving grace there was that the intervention was only effected after Indonesia had agreed to the UN intervention.

All this brings one to the most serious aspect of the ethics of NATO's intervention. It was against the Charter of the United Nations. The question that arises is whether the more powerful countries of the Western world care any longer for the United Nations as an international organisation since they seem to be doing their utmost to making it increasingly ineffective. The intervention was against NATO's own Charter, which sets out that the Alliance can only take military action in case one of its own members is attacked. It could not take action under the umbrella of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, because it is not a regional organisation as envisaged by that provision, but a military alliance. The attempts at coercing Yugoslavia by threats of bombing, to sign up to what was drafted at Rambouillet, were in violation of the Vienna Convention on the Law of International Treaties.

As a military man with some experience of battle as also peacekeeping operations, I have great difficulty in coming to terms with the methods adopted in the conduct of Operation "Allied Force". What was undertaken under the garb of a military operation was an unprofessional enterprise

of some politicians and diplomats, endorsed obviously by senior military leadership who saw no reason to question the political judgement. The main characteristic of the NATO campaign was the overwhelming compulsion to avoid casualties to "friendly forces". In its air campaign against Yugoslavia, NATO showed that it was willing to kill for its so-called principles, but not to fight. The operation was a one-sided affair in which NATO forces pounded Yugoslavia from the air while refusing to get close to the ground where its forces would be in danger. The military connotation of such conduct of battle is significant. When one fights face-to-face with an adversary, there is cause to treat him with some respect and to honour him as a fighter. A pilot bombing a target from far above the ground does not see an adversary, does not fight him, and, therefore, has no reason to honour him, or concern himself with the collateral damage he may cause. The question that then arises is whether such form of use of military force that converts soldiers from fighters into mere killers is ethical by any standards of civilised behaviour that we set for ourselves? More so, when one is speaking of the application of military force in *humanitarian* interventions. "Force protection" has become an obsession in Western military thought, and new technology that allows Western nations to avoid 'friendly' casualties has made it easier for them to wage war without considering the consequences. Are we, therefore, seeing an increasing tendency to resort to the use of force to bring recalcitrant political leaders to heel?

While, therefore, questioning the merit of discussion that seeks to cloak NATO's actions in Kosovo under the mantle of humanitarian intervention from the moral point of view, the legal position cannot be ignored.

The use of force is governed in international law by the provisions of the UN Charter, at the root of which are the principles of sovereignty and integrity of the nation state. The modern international system has been constructed on the basis of the principle of sovereignty. This principle is not only the foundation of international law, but of the diplomatic system. Transnational market integration has done nothing to replace this system. The Charter clearly prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, with two exceptions. The first is individual or collective self-defence when a member state is the victim of aggression, and the second when the Security Council acts under Chapter VII to deal with a threat to peace, breach of peace, or an act of aggression. Whereas there cannot be much disagreement that human rights violations and humanitarian catastrophes demand the attention of the international community, it is for consideration whether physical intervention to deal with such situations can be accorded unfettered application over the aspect of the sovereignty of States. This has been the subject of discussion at the UN in recent years, and it would appear that there is some consensus that the international community has a responsibility in this regard. In pursuance of this commitment, there have been occasions in the recent past, where humanitarian intervention has been authorised by the Security Council. However, the apprehension of most of the member states is that the primacy of the UN Security Council in this regard, is being compromised. The supreme irony in this context is that, though the UN today is generally perceived as a tool of the world's pre-eminent super-power, the USA, in the case of NATO intervention in Kosovo, the alliance led by the USA, still found it expedient to bypass the Security Council. If humanitarian intervention is to be undertaken by some members of the international community on the basis of the perceptions of the leadership of one or two powers, the very foundations of the UN Charter stand eroded. That is the central issue that needs to be addressed when we consider the application of military force to undertake humanitarian interventions.

The United Nations Security Council must be the agency that authorises or sanctions the use of military force at the international level. Notwithstanding all its inadequacies (which could be removed with some concerted and genuine effort), it is the world body that we need to call upon when the need arises. Over the years, it has to its great credit, evolved a mechanism for conflict control that has stood the test of time – peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is an extraordinary art that calls for the use of the military personnel not to wage war, but to prevent fighting between belligerents, to ensure the maintenance of cease-fires, and to provide a measure of stability in an area of conflict while negotiations are conducted. It is for consideration, therefore, whether there can be a better cloak for undertaking humanitarian intervention.

In the past, the international community had to deal with inter-state conflict. Through political, diplomatic and sometimes threat of economic pressure, belligerent states were coaxed or compelled to cease fighting and arrive at agreements under the aegis of the international community. Today, most of the recent conflicts have taken place, or are taking place, within states, or between units that were part of unitary states till they began to fall apart. They are not always fought by national armies, but by paramilitaries and irregulars; in which process, civilians are the

main victims. In many cases, state institutions have collapsed, in a few cases, there are no governments. As a result, humanitarian emergencies force the international community to intervene. This is why the demands on the military for the maintenance of international peace and security have gone well beyond traditional peacekeeping. Today they encompass activities like demobilisation of troops and armed para-militaries or irregulars, promotion of national reconciliation, restoration of effective governments, the organisation and monitoring of elections, provision of broader support to humanitarian aid missions, including protection of "safe areas" and escort of relief convoys, and so on. Military operations of this nature have, therefore, become more expensive, more complex, and more dangerous. Even so, where United Nations intervention has followed rather than accompanied the negotiation of a political settlement (as in Namibia, Cambodia and Mozambique), UN forces were able to reinforce the work of humanitarian agencies and contribute to political stabilisation. On the other hand, when the humanitarian catastrophe was the direct result of the absence of such settlement, or at least one to which all parties were seriously committed, UN intervention had more negative than positive results.

In the first place, it is important to understand the nuances of the various situations in which the military is to be applied. Demobilisation of para-militaries and disarming of combatants from the parties to the conflict, are noble ideas. However, they are generally unrealistic given the history of most conflict situations and the intense distrust that prevails between belligerents. Weapons and equipment would disappear into 'hides' and 'caches' for use at an appropriate time. Only firm intent backed up by intense searches and punitive actions, would produce some meaningful results. This would require large numbers of well-armed and well-equipped troops, and more importantly, unqualified political resolve at the international level. Needless to say, because of the increasing dangers inherent in the conduct of such operations, there is greater reluctance on the part of contributor nations to expose their troops to what is perceived as "some other parties" war. And even more so under the rather dubious command and control arrangement a UN deployment envisages. Hence where enforcement actions are envisaged or likely, multinational coalitions led by the "willing and the able" will need to be deployed under the umbrella of a UN Security Council resolution. The most recent such example is of the International Assistance Force being put together in Afghanistan though not for 'humanitarian intervention'. In so far as dangers to troops are concerned, notwithstanding the manner in which NATO operations in Kosovo were conducted, few professionals will dispute the assertion that no self respecting soldier, sailor or airman, would have any reservations whatsoever in participating in such operations. Provided the mandate is clear and achievable, adequate resources are catered for, and there is an assurance that it has the political backing and support of the international community. The very reason for sending military personnel into a mission area is that there is an element of danger, which by their training they are reasonably well equipped to face up to; if there was no danger, there is no reason why a group of civilians cannot undertake the task. Having stated that however, it needs to be emphasised that because the military as a well disciplined force undertakes an allotted mission without questioning the political merits and demerits, a greater responsibility

devolves on those who confer the mandate.

The end of the Cold War and the relative success of Operation Desert Storm had induced a sense of euphoria that the international community was geared to deal with dangers to international peace and security, and conduct humanitarian interventions in a more effective manner than before. However, the experiences of Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Liberia, Angola, Rwanda, and those in some of the former republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union, quickly dispelled these expectations, and in fact, may well have induced a sense of retrenchment. Even so, there can be hardly any doubt, that as and when new conflict situations arise, the international community and the belligerents will turn to the United Nations for attempts at resolution. East Timor is a striking example, as is the deployment in the Horn of Africa. Hence, operations for the maintenance of international peace and security, and humanitarian interventions, will continue to be required, and must, therefore, receive the attention they deserve, both in terms of political support, and military preparation. Such operations are the only answer to conflict resolution and provision of succour to those affected by conflict, when all else fails. What may merit reiteration however, is that the use of force, other than for self defence, is to be sanctioned only on the authority of the Security Council. And even then, only when the Council determines that a threat to international peace and security exists, and that all alternative means of settlement have been exhausted.

The juggernaut of globalisation moves ahead relentlessly and the frenetic pace of technological developments is overwhelming. Both together have brought about greater economic and political interdependencies.

These have also contributed in considerable measures to the internationalisation of domestic events and the emergence of an international society. Hence the traditional line between internal affairs and international concern has become increasingly diffused. Perceptions of national sovereignty are, therefore, undergoing some modification. The scope for a state to deal at will with its own citizens has narrowed somewhat. An intense debate has been sparked off on the issue by the developments in Kosovo and East Timor. A debate that appears to signify that the international community will no longer countenance massive violations of human rights and genocide. Even so, when issues of sovereignty are at stake, suggestions of 'intervention' inevitably raise images of the strong imposing their will upon the weak. The challenges of evolving a clear set of principles, rules and procedures to regulate such forms of intervention need to be recognised and solutions found.

But it must be emphasised that the root of most conflict lies in deprivation in society, and to that extent, may be some early investment in potential conflict areas towards building society, would be more cost effective. Hence, maximum efforts need to be directed towards preventive action by the international community. In this effort, whether it should be the United Nations or regional organisations, is a matter of statesmanship. As we look into the Twenty First Century, it is essential that we do not allow the perceived inadequacies of some recent operations to cloud our judgement, and swing from one extreme of attempting to undertake too much to undertaking too little. There is much the international community can do to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, and there is no way it can absolve itself of that responsibility.

## COMMENT : AMBASSADOR OMRAN EL-SHAFEI

Globalisation has a much wider connotation than international intervention. I think globalisation is an event in history. There are certain handicaps too. We have to work together to share the benefits of globalisation. The 11 September 2001 tragedy shocked the Western public opinion. In the early 60s the Arab Israeli wars shocked the world but not to this extent. The Berlin blockade was felt more among the Europeans particularly the Germans. The Vietnam conflict created ripples in the Western nations. The Balkans conflict raised professional issues within the American and the European opinion. There was no exception in case of 11 September 2001 tragedy. The first victim of this was globalisation itself; its process and content. The division between the rich and the poor would increase.

## CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS : SHRI CHINMAYA R GHAREKHAN

A very perceptive and honest exposition. The situations do exist where there is a gross violation of the rights of the oppressed by instruments of state. The answer to this is of course not the so called humanitarian military intervention. The only international body we have is not the representative of equals; so the matter cannot rest there. The issue is of law; legitimacy has to be satisfied which is possible if there is an intervention with the express authorisation of the Security Council. The right of humanitarian intervention is a reminder of the Ninteenth Century concept of 'White Man's burden'. It behoves us to understand whether we at present are better enabled to defend ourselves against this concept. This is in fact a case of more powerful nation versus the less powerful.

It was during my tenure as India's Permanent Representative in the UN Security Council that the UN passed the resolution authorising the US to go into Somalia to improve the situation there. India stood by her principle of defending a State's sovereignty. One place where intervention was absolutely essential was Rwanda. A genocide was on the cards. It would be unjustified to crticise the UN for what happened there. Palestine is now asking for observers as they are facing disproportionate use of force.

The happenings at the moment are too recent to foresee their possible implications. One wonders if the world will ever be one of peaceful co-existence. The events will assay what lies in store for us.

## SECOND SESSION : DISCUSSANTS

## MS ARUNDHATI GHOSE, IFS (RETD)

Whoever selected the theme for today's presentations has a very interesting approach. A symptom of global action is international intervention. Global aspects come against issues of state sovereignty. Globalisation is an inevitable process to which one either adapts or does not adapt. The global movement today as Lieutenant General V R Raghavan mentioned, is of terrorism. The mechanism of globalisation, IT, transfer of finances , global terror, could lead us astray.

We need to look into the aspect of impingement of State sovereignty. A State can take action to adapt, adjust, permit the infringement of sovereignty and so on. This is different from the term intervention. Lieutenant General Nambiar has made an interesting differentiation between humanitarian intervention and military intervention with international blessings.

Human rights is the other term that requires defining. Human rights is according to perception; so is the answer to the query - what is violation of human rights? Who in fact decides on what are human rights? The opinion here is that nobody can do this. However, the speakers have cautioned that intervention may be required in some cases. They all agree on the role of the Security Council here. Ironically, the Security Council does what it is told to do. Intervention in Afghanistan got a nod but in case of a request for action in a terror-exporting neighbouring state, the backing from Security Council will not be forthcoming. A state can voluntarily accept or reject globalisation. China made a conscious decision to join the WTO and accept the disciplines of the international trading law. In case of intervention, one is

unaware of what human rights are being violated. Hence it is not clear as to who decides about a threat to international peace and stability? The decision has to be at the international level. Lieutenant General Nambiar has pointed out as to how sometimes certain features are imposed on a state or more in the Security Council. This is not just a matter of inequality but a matter of injustice too. There is a requirement to look into the possibilities of a new structure.

An emerging factor, quite contrary to globalisation, is the unilateralism of the single super power. If this unilateralism were to be coupled with acceptance of advice of intervention on the basis of human rights, it would lead to dilution of state sovereignty in such cases.

Ambassador Shafei referred to the impact of 11 September happenings and the public opinion. Racism is based on ignorance. One wonders if this could be taken as a defeat of globalisation or civilisational clash. But then there exists no civilisation in terrorism. Terrorism is another term requiring definition.

What came out with clarity in the presentations was the desire for an alternative. Certain international guidelines need to be agreed upon which would protect the countries from the arbitrariness of the present situation. Unless the United Nations Security Council has some muscle, this may not work. However, it may establish some norms for the smaller and weaker nations, which are in fact the foundation of the United Nations. There is an attempt to bring some kind of international law in what is today the case of 'white being right'. This is required for

the sake of international security and is required in the interest of the single super power itself, which in turn will require the cooperation of other states.

### Shri CR Gharekhan, IFS (Retd)

When the Lockerbee tragedy occurred, immediate action was sought against the suspects. When we were all for an immediate action against the suspects of the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane IC-814, India was asked to provide evidence before any action could be taken against them!

**Discussant :** Mr Abdel El Halim Mahgoub's transcription not available due to poor audibility of recording.

## SECOND SESSION : GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

### Lieutenant General B S Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

It has been argued that globalisation can undermine state sovereignty. Intervention is a direct assault over it. Acting in defence of human rights is a noble task but one doubts whether the instrument we have is worthy. One would give an answer in the negative; unless the functioning of the UN is restructured and democratised, the answer will be an emphatic 'no'. As Ms Arundhati Ghose queried what is the Security Council? Perhaps the option is not to leave the matters entirely to it. Maybe one could opt for a two third voting in the UN General Assembly after which it could go to the Security Council. If it is vetoed there, it is for the good because India should be on the side of upholders of non-intervention. Whether this is feasible or not is best left unexplained.

After all when one refers to sovereignty, one is referring to it in the context of the people, which in turn implies a democratic regime in the state. So any action against a democratic state should be inhibited in some manner. Where dictatorship is involved, the entire issue of ethics takes a turn because then it is a question of whose society are we encroaching upon? In such cases political intervention needs to precede military intervention. Elections are necessary as held in the case of Cambodia. Military intervention should be the last resort. A threat of the same, in some cases, may be enough to ensure compliance with UN-supervised elections.

### Professor M Zuberi

In regard to globalisation, many aspects have been covered. Ambassador Ghose rightly stated that the terrorists also operate through networks using technology of globalisation. Globalisation has taken place in the US too as they have become vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

Regarding body bags, this was an issue as early as 1898, in the American-Spanish War. Some years ago, an American wrote a very interesting article where he described what a 'great country' denotes. According to him it was a country that used its economic and diplomatic means to achieve its ends and when it failed, it resorted to force. This implied that some civilian non combatants and soldiers might have got killed. As of now, the idea is to have a war without casualties.

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar has referred to just war, whereby a war should be declared by an appropriate authority; the cause should be just; the killings have to be proportionate to ends; and discrimination should be made. It is generally unknown that St Augustine's thinking on just war was influenced by the doctrine of Jehad. Those days the Europeans learnt a great deal from Arabic writers. They rediscovered renaissance; and one of these was the literature on jehad.

### Major General R C Chopra, AVSM (Retd)

There are instances of small states attempting to be independent of large states. There is an inherent confusion in our minds as to what is unjust. It varies according to perception.

### Commander N Radhakrishnan SC (Retd)

One of the consequences of the 11 September 2001 attacks on America was the

passing of laws; particularly in the USA and the UK that were never there even during declared wars. By this a person does face a dilemma - he or she may not even know what are the charges for which a person is being held. Thus it must be considered as to what extent can a person in authority, who has force on his side, violate human rights?

### Air Marshal Bharat Kumar, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd)

When dealing with people who have no respect for others or for one's own life, for instance the suicide bombers, the whole issue of human rights becomes doubtful. The other dilemma is as to who actually is innocent?

### Brigadier V K Nair, VSM (Retd)

These references to humanity and morality in a war can not be digested. In a war you 'kill'. The global community got together as sovereign states to create the UN Charter in which the UN Security Council has a specific task in a conflict. In the last couple of years, the scope of Security Council to intervene has been coming in the focus of those developed countries who want it changed for the sake of power. Further, one is yet to query as to who would decide at the UN as to whether the Security Council should intervene in a conflict or not? Right now, it is being by passed. By creating certain procedures, it has become normal for the Security Council to be discussing matters of 'humanitarian intervention' which is not its Charter.

### Lieutenant General BS Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

There are nations not as powerful as the US, who are not in agreement with certain aspects of international politics. Terrorism has ensured a convergence of ideas in the midst of such diversities. At an IDSA-ICWA(Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses-Indian Council of World Affairs) seminar, a Chinese participant commented that humanitarian intervention in theory put forward and defined by the West, is harmful to safeguarding national security and is not in favour of reunification of other territories. China has its own agenda but for now, they feel that the time has not come to implement it. Much depends on how the UN Charter is interpreted.

### Brigadier VK Nair, VSM (Retd)

The very tools of globalisation - communications, networking and so on - can actually be tools of terror. There is no convention, there are no norms, as Ambassador Ghose correctly pointed out whereby a nation could realise or decide that its sovereignty has been attacked. There should be some norms that could enable the State to prosecute the accused and bring back some semblance of normalcy.

### Ambassador Omran El-Shafei

The US's campaign to combat terrorism made it clear that this is directed against many countries and regions. Its policies and their implementation constitute real danger with regard to relations between nations. There is no agreement between nations on combating terrorism. There are major differences, which could split countries; there would be actions against genuine movements fighting for self government and others to the contrary. Once the objective is achieved in Afghanistan, the US should join other countries in a collective effort to eradicate this phenomenon of terrorism.

### Mr Abdel Halim El-Mahgoub

The statement made by the US officials

regarding the campaign may be directed against organisations in specific Arab countries. A number of Arab countries are mentioned - Iraq in particular. Further, regarding the threats of military intervention - if it does take place, it will not only provoke a negative public opinion in the affected state(s) but could also destabilise the region as a whole.

Over a time, pressure has been exerted over Palestinian authorities by both the Israeli and the American governments to curb the activities of the Ulemas and the Jihadis. It will be interesting to watch the developments in other regions. Similar patterns may emerge between powerful countries and weak countries, to the detriment of the latter.

All of this would lead to a rethink on international obligations by the states. States would need to be reminded of resolve for peace and international security. Instead of strengthening international cooperation, the international community would witness the setting up of a grouping of states with tensions between them. Efforts must be made to avoid them.

### Major General YK Gera (Retd)

One of the doubts prevalent in the minds of many of those present here is that it is surprising how Egypt does not figure in the multinational force against terrorism. One of the reasons could be the perception that it will not go all the way according to the agenda of the West.

### Lieutenant General S Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)

I would like to respond to a comment made on the body-bag syndrome. There is a distinction between situations where the US is a victim of direct attack as on 11 September 2001 and taking part in military operations elsewhere. The American nation would be prepared to accept casualties in this case and body-bag syndrome may not have an adverse effect.

Secondly, as far as the Indo-Pak Wars are concerned, the leadership on both sides has been very sane in the sense that the civilian population has never been targeted on either side of the border.

# WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, MISSILES, NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENCE (NMD),THEATRE MISSILE DEFENCE (TMD) SYSTEMS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

## THIRD SESSION

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| Chairman | : | **Professor Matin Zuberi** |
| *First Paper* | : | Major General Moukhtar El Fayoumi (Retd) |
| *Second Paper* | : | Rear Admiral KR Menon (Retd) |
| *Discussants* | : | Brigadier VK Nair, VSM (Retd)<br>Ambassador Ahmed Haggag |

## CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS : PROFESSOR MATIN ZUBERI

After 312 seminars, 300 Congressional hearings, 12 .Commissions and four wargames in the US, from 1985 till 11 September 2001, to discuss terrorism and device means of counterterrorism, none of them could imagine the planning that went into that day's attack. The focus has been on ballistic missiles. Over the years, the US spent an estimated $ 35 bn on it.

Our first presentation today is by Major General Moukhtar El Fayoumi and the second paper is by Rear Admiral Raja Menon.

## THIRD SESSION : FIRST PAPER
## MAJOR GENERAL MOUKHTAR EL FAYOUMI (RETD)

After almost 30 years, the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is yet to meet the expectations of the countries that were party to it and chose not to go the nuclear road. They accused the declared nuclear states and mainly the US for not honouring their commitment to start nuclear disarmament. This was partly a response to the nuclear tests conducted by two more countries and an increasing fear that nuclear disarmament would become more difficult, if possible at all. More countries would be incited to develop nuclear capabilities, especially in the Middle East region where Israel is believed to possess nuclear weapons; Iran could also decide to develop indigenous capabilities (estimated to be nuclear capable in three to five years).

In fact nuclear states are developing new generations of weapons and delivery means to increase the effectiveness of their weapons. Most important are the tactical nuclear weapons that are susceptible to use in military operations. Those weapons are being largely developed by nuclear powers for their potential use in military operations. Their spread would simplify their potential use in specific military operations. They are characterised by the facility of delivery and cause lesser casualties. Their use could lead to the use of strategic weapons.

In the present situation, with eight states possessing nuclear weapons and more of them going nuclear it would be interesting to explore how important are nuclear weapons to the security of states. Would the tactical nuclear weapons spread as well in which case their control would be extremely difficult and

their use in military operations more expected. With this increasing number of nuclear capable states, technology acquisition would also be simpler inspite of the international control measures. In fact, with the present state of availability of nuclear weapons, national security of non nuclear states is largely endangered. This pushes them to seek other deterrence means, most probably a resort to chemical and biological warfare.

In the Middle East, Israel is the only power that is believed to possess nuclear weapons. In spite of the peace agreement with Egypt and Jordan, Israel claims its security would be endangered if it eliminates its nuclear weapons, and hence refuses to discuss the issue of elimination of nuclear weapons in the context of a regional security regime. The idea of regional security regime in the Middle East, which originated from the Madrid peace conference was developed as a regional cooperative security system to provide all regional countries the security they seek. It included among other elements the elimination of all Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) from the region. Israeli position was and is still the direct cause of stalling all regional attempts to develop and establish a regional arms control regime that would help establishing regional security and stability. Moreover, the Israeli reliance on nuclear weapons is not deemed enough. It seeks technological edge and conventional supremacy as well as full US support to its military armament programmes.

This situation engendered the Egyptian position of linkage between the nuclear and chemical issues, and it took the firm decision

not to sign the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) until Israel joins the NPT, in spite of its support to the principle of elimination of all WMD from the region.

While they cannot be considered as a balance to nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons are of immense importance as weapons of mass destruction. The post 11 September terrorist attacks showed the potential effect of biological weapons and the importance the US and other superpowers attach to the bioweaponry, including the dedicated research they work on.

## Missiles

The threat of strategic nuclear weapons is necessarily coupled with adequate delivery means, the simplest and the most common being the strategic missiles. The control regime and the efforts to prevent the proliferation of missile technology have had some success but were unable to completely stop the development of other indigenous projects. Smaller range missiles were easier to proliferate as their technology was largely available and simpler to access.

With the present state of availability of missiles and the development of longer range missiles by new countries, the US felt its security endangered. Seeking a monopoly of power and strategic supremacy, the US revived the idea of "Star Wars" to substitute the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) that was based on a kind of balance of deterrence. The new doctrine would allow it to use its strategic strike capability while defending it from similar missile threat or retaliation. This would largely limit the military power of other states and cancel the concept

of balance of deterrence. It is this which would endanger the security of other states.

## Reaction to the NMD

The concept of balance of deterrence worked well for the last few years. No power would accept to substitute it with the US monopoly. No country would feel comfortable to be vulnerable to the US missiles.

This American development would revive and activate the arms race and transfer it to a new and extreme dimension. The new space race that will develop will definitely have negative reflection on the economic situation of many states, especially those who will be obliged to participate in that race.

However the development of nuclear capabilities also needed huge resources and great sacrifices that did not obliterate the national effort of countries with moderate resources. Similarly these countries would allocate enough resources to develop their national missile programmes to face the new posture. This new unilateral measure of the US to withdraw from the ABM treaty will have varied impacts on international relations in general and Russia and China in particular.

The emerging missile and space powers would continue their race and put more effort to face a US monopoly (Russia has already presented its version of a missile defence system). They would work to increase their nuclear capabilities and increase the number and variety of missiles and support expansion in the number of potential users (as to overload the defensive system). They would eventually take to cooperation and transfer of technology with other relevant countries,

with the aim of achieving quick success and maintain a stable financial posture. Cooperation and transfer of technology will largely increase the proliferation of shorter range missiles, giving greater chance to new indigenous projects.

China is not directly concerned with the ABM treaty. Yet they sense the threat to their security and will definitely increase their strategic capabilities. This will increase the pace of its modernisation process (put multiple warheads on their now single warhead missiles and deploy countermeasures on those missiles). Such developments would urge India to operationalise her nuclear force structure. Pakistan will follow suit. An increasingly nuclearised Asia will have serious implications for Japan's international security, and Iran will of course take note. Such an occurrence could lead to the emergence of many new nuclear nations by the end of this decade.

The US has set a precedence by withdrawing from an international treaty just because it finds it inconvenient. Why can not any other nation do the same and withdraw from a treaty that it no longer finds convenient ?

Within the Middle East area, the more tangible threat is from shorter range missiles. They are widely present and have been extensively used in regional military confrontations. However, longer range missiles have also been used by the US and are no less threatening. Most of those short range missiles that have been used by regional countries in their military operations were of the "Scud family" with limited range and payload. They have been used to deliver conventional explosives to military and urban targets as well, and such a role cannot be separated from the role of traditional firepower. Those short range missiles should be considered militarily as a complementing capability for firepower. Countries that rely most on missiles are those with relatively limited air power capabilities. They found in the missiles a suitable means that could relatively substitute some of the capabilities they miss. Looking to those "Scud family" or "battlefield" missiles, and comparing their capabilities with bombers and aircraft would prove that air power is a much favourable delivery means.

Hence there should be a distinction between those missiles that have been used, and are a fact of life, and the intercontinental ballistic missiles that would be a threat to extra-regional powers. A new definition should be devised and a new regulation for the control and prevention of proliferation of missiles. Those regional short range missiles that are being viewed as firepower tools, should be considered in the context of a military balance between regional military powers. A balance of military capabilities should provide more transparency with respect to the missiles capabilities (especially warheads to prohibit the use of nuclear payloads) and control the technology transfers. Regional indigenous missile programmes should be more transparent and a mutually verifiable control on numbers could be included in security provisions.

An important element related to those "to be allowed" missiles is the insurance that their payload is not of non-conventional nature. However, this issue being the same as for aircraft payload, should be considered jointly in the same context, while considering the delivery means for non-conventional weapons.

This means that for the Middle East region a new definition and acceptability of missiles should be elaborated. Initially battlefield missiles should find no restriction (as long as they don't carry non-conventional payloads) and should be considered as a firepower element in the context of a balance of military power. The range of this category of missiles should be reconsidered by military experts vis-a-vis the new perspective (comparable to aircraft and other delivery means that is available regionally).

Longer range (strategic) missiles could be considered differently. They can represent a threat to countries around the region and to extra-regional powers as well; at least they are a threat to their forces in the region. In general, strategic missiles are linked to WMD and it would be difficult to view such a weapon carrying a conventional payload. However, we do not have to exclude the long range cruise missiles with conventional high precision warhead. They have been extensively used by the US to deal with specific targets in the region.

For the region, some long range missiles are already available and an assessment of other active programmes expect longer ranges would be deployed in the near future. This would imply more emphasis on the establishment of a balance of strategic forces. For the Middle East a great deal of missile non-proliferation control has been applied on many countries including Egypt. However, cooperation links have been available with the South Asian region. Many other extra regional countries have capabilities that would greatly support indigenous programmes in the Middle East or help their development.

Middle East countries feel that they need missiles for defence especially against Israel which maintains a powerful air power with long range strike capability (besides its medium range missiles). Israel is believed to be the only country that has developed a programme with long range missiles. Israel is developing a missile defence system with technical and financial support from the US. The concept of TMD is also under consideration since the Gulf War. Some hastily modified Patriot batteries had been used to face the Iraqi Scuds during that war. More elaborate modifications have followed and dedicated programmes are under way.

**Middle East Regional Security Regime**

The idea of creating a regime was the outcome of the Madrid peace talks which had organised five specific working groups one of which was the ACRS working group (Arms Control and Regional Security). This working group was conceptualised to help the creation of an arms control regime in the context of a regional security regime in the Middle East. It was to complement activities of other working groups in order to achieve peace in the Middle East.

Most of the regional countries participated in the discussions under the sponsorship of the USA and Russia, with other extra-regional powers. The support of extra-regional powers was deemed important due to their role in arms supply to the region, and their eventual support to arms control measures. A regional arms control regime was to be a cooperative regime that would cover both the conventional and non conventional aspects of armament.

While it was practically impossible at that time to come to a common understanding with respect to the nuclear issue, the non conventional armament also had its huge

difficulties. Here is the importance of role of arms and technology supplies to the regional countries. According to Egypt, issues of technology and qualitative evaluation of armament are essential for the overall evaluation of regional military balance. The role of technology suppliers is vital and hence the importance of their active participation in the discussions. The support of technology to Israel was a major cause of the imbalance of power in the region. The concept of a regional arms control regime should take into consideration a real balance based on qualitative evaluation of power.

### THIRD SESSION : SECOND PAPER
### REAR ADMIRAL RAJA MENON (RETD)

**Is there a strong strategic link between Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and National Missile Defence (NMD)?** The best work that links WMD and NMD and international security is perhaps the recently published McNair paper, "The Revenge of the Melians", by the National Defence University (NDU) of the United States. It describes the battle between Athens and Sparta, in which the island of Melos was required by Athens as a base. The Melians were requested to join the Athenian alliance, but refused, claiming the right to be neutral. The Athenians conquered Melos, slaughtered the men, saying, 'Right, as the world goes, is only a question between equals in power. The strong do what they wish, and the weak suffer what they must'. This famous saying may not have had much relevance during the cold war. In the post Cold War world, where powerful allies cannot be found, there is a growing realisation that the position of the sole super power can or will be challenged by smaller powers not by the force of military power, but perhaps by better organisation, espionage, terror weapons or by using the peculiar strengths that every nation possesses.

During the Cold War the world was concerned most about nuclear annihilation – deliberate or accidental. While today there are still enough nuclear weapons to destroy the earth, large arsenals are not actually aimed at each other, and the Joint Data Exchange Center between Russia and the US has institutionally reduced the possibilities of accidental inter-continental war. But the world is still concerned about WMD in a completely different way. By WMD I of course mean the nuclear, biological and chemical warfare threats. Nuclear arsenals, without political hostility are, I assume, not of urgent concern. Although the world accuses Russia of not being able to account for all its tactical nuclear weapons, the French still talk of threats from all directions (despite the demise of the USSR); a British ballistic missile submarine still goes out on patrol throughout the year, and the Chinese nuclear arsenal is undergoing complete modernisation. I may not be contradicted if I said that political hostility backed by nuclear weapons exists today only in Asia and the Middle East – in India, Pakistan and in East Asia where Chinese regional hegemonistic aspirations come up against the interests of the USA. In the Middle East we have Israel which has a definable nuclear arsenal which pursues a strategy of nuclear ambiguity. However, the world is yet to face a state deliberately contemplating the use of nuclear weapons.

In South Asia, it would help matters if India and Pakistan could come to an agreement on nuclear confidence building measures, because of the political hostility. Such an agreement was reached at Lahore in February 1999, but President Musharraf has since declared that Pakistan does not respect the Lahore Agreement. Eventually, what we would like to see is a tripartite agreement or a simultaneous bilateral agreement where the subject of discussion will be the Chinese, Indian and Pakistani nuclear arsenals, their numbers, capability and state of readiness.

Can a state actor, during the resurgence of terrorism that we are witnessing create a nuclear threat? There are two opinions on this which may need further discussion. I am of the opinion that nuclear devices cannot be manufactured by any known terrorist group today without the backing of a state sponsor. State sponsors may also provide finished components for a nuclear weapon assembly, and such states can only be – Iraq, North Korea or Pakistan. However, no material or technical help from any of these three can, as far is known, produce miniaturised nuclear weapons suitable for use by terrorists. The use of nuclear radioactive material either on its own or as part of a bomb is feasible and was used in Moscow some years back by a Chechen outfit, but the casualties expected are no more than from a large conventional bomb attack.

Would the world be a safer place without nuclear weapons? Undoubtedly, and in that sense, the NPT is still a worthwhile goal, provided the world sees Article VI, or the elimination of nuclear weapons as the crux of the NPT. Unfortunately, after the NPT 2000 Review Conference, where a compromise had been reached on a step - by-step approach to eliminate nuclear weapons, the P5 have gone back to issuing Defence White Papers and posture statements that mention nuclear weapons as being part of their strategic framework. There is no possibility that unless the P5 can show the way to nuclear disarmament, the threshold weapon states like India are not going to take the NPT seriously at all.
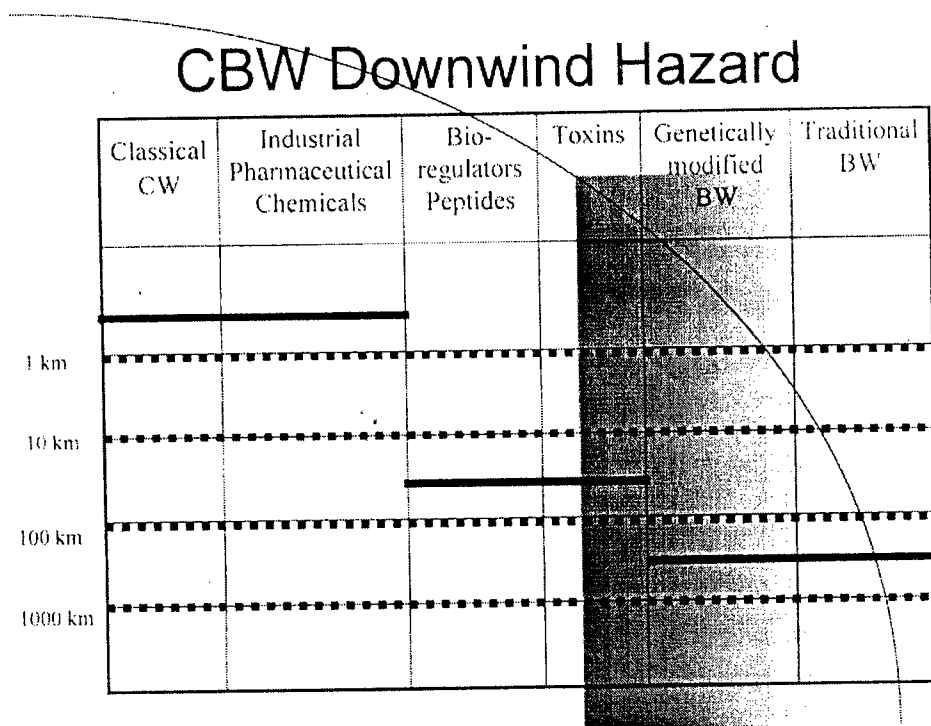
Coming to biological weapons (BW) – their advantages are obvious - they are relatively cheap, easy to hide from any verification regime, highly lethal and can be used in such a way that the perpetrator cannot be identified. BW agents include bacterial – that is those that are passed from one human to another like Anthrax and Toxins which are lethal but not infectious, like Botulinum. The BW convention outlaws the possession of BW capabilities but is more ambiguous on their use. Its weakness is that there was never any verification and many nations who had signed the BW Convention continued to make BW agents, as President Yeltsin conceded in 1992. Similarly Iraq admitted to the UN to having BW weapons in 1995. Nevertheless while everyone admits to the dangers of BW agents there are two distinct schools of thought on the efficacy of this agent as a form of warfare. The pessimist school consists of those who believe that BW is the most dangerous form of warfare facing man and to prove it they show charts as in Figure 1.

It can be seen that downwind hazards extend to a few hundred kilometres if the meteorological conditions are optimum. It is estimated that a single crop dusting aircraft flying across the wind could produce an area 200 km by 200 kms downwind of lethality. If the lethality is to be increased, the aircraft could fly upwind to produce a denser area of 50 kms by 50 kms. In such an area if Anthrax was used, the eventual number of casualties would be the same as that produced by a one megaton bomb dropped in the same area.

The optimist school believes that the threat from BW agents are overstated. Firstly, any sort of battlefield use is ruled out owing to the unpredictability of the meteorological conditions as well as the terrain. BW agents are also very volatile and susceptible to biodegradation and corruption. When intelligence exists about possible tactical BW

**Figure 1**



## CBW Downwind Hazard

| | Classical CW | Industrial Pharmaceutical Chemicals | Bio-regulators Peptides | Toxins | Genetically modified BW | Traditional BW |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 km | | | | | | |
| 10 km | | | | | | |
| 100 km | | | | | | |
| 1000 km | | | | | | |

use, the forces employed could be inoculated against the agent. It is admitted that the use of BW agents against the civil population could produce devastating effects. Hence, the use of BW for strategic purposes also becomes possible in that BW agents could be used in concentration areas, ports of access, airfields and large static targets. Today the BW convention has 143 states party to it and many signatory states but has no provision for verifying compliance. There is an Ad Hoc Group (AHG) that does the verification from a technical standpoint. You are also aware that the recommendations on verification were recently rejected by the USA and this may sound strange. But the rejection by the USA may not cripple the treaty in any way as the rest of the treaty still requires national legislation to be enacted by all states to specify penal laws to prohibit anyone in their national jurisdiction from producing, acquiring or stockpiling biological agents or toxins.

The opposition to verification comes largely from the pharmaceutical industry which, as a result of the Genome project are about to launch on a series of new medicines that will attack the diseased molecule genetically. There are billions of dollars to be earned in the manufacture of these new medicines. There are also simultaneously dangerous consequences arising from the

genome research. It is now possible by using big-regulators to :-

- Manufacture toxins and bacteria resistant to medicines.

- Create mentally-sick human beings by attacking the neurological systems.

- Create proteins that may have malign influences on humans which are incurable.

Admittedly for these reasons, verification is necessary. But the sites to be verified will be the same sites where research will be carried out on the new medicines. The US pharmaceutical industry has objected to verification on the grounds of industrial espionage and this is a genuine problem which will have to be addressed if the BTW convention is to make the same successes as the CWC.

Chemical weapons, all agree, are the easiest to use and manufacture and is certainly within the capability of terrorists to employ. It is also fortunately the least effective of the three components of WMD. It is the assessment of the US government that despite the CWC, China, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Myanmar, North Korea, Pakistan, Syria, Taiwan and Yemen are suspected of maintaining chemical weapons stocks. Tactically, chemical weapons are effective and cost-effective although many armed forces are today protected and trained to operate in a chemical warfare environment. Chemical weapons are effective as stated earlier, their use against well trained troops will result in a serious slowing down of the tempo of operations, but it may not be decisive. The Iran-Iraq war has shown that despite repeated CW attacks the casualties were less than one per cent. CW is easily

amenable to storage and being delivered in normal munitions, but here again, strategic targets like mounting bases and the population of host countries are susceptible to CW. Chemical agents can also be carried in ballistic missiles against civilian populations, but it is difficult to assess what the consequences would be if the defence was armed with nuclear weapons and had a strategy of counter proliferation.

The audience may well wonder how WMD, important though it is as a subject, is related to NMD and for this purpose I need to go into asymmetric warfare which provides the link between the two. The success of the coalition in Operation Desert Storm gave rise to a few analyses posited on the situation of what if Saddam had a better grasp of strategic matters than what he exhibited in the months before invading Kuwait. What if, for instance, he had attacked the Saudi bases with CBW while the coalition was still building up? The subsequent UNSCOM operations inside Iraq made it clear, as did the first bombing on World Trade Center in 1993 that many of the strategic objectives of the USA as the sole superpower would be contested by the rogue states or other states, by *'leveraging inferior tactical or operational strength against American vulnerabilities to achieve disproportionate effect, with the aim of undermining American will in order to achieve the asymmetric actor's strategic objectives.'*

An asymmetric actor can achieve political objectives, even if he fails in his operational objective, because the asymmetric actor invariably acts only at the tactical level. This needs further explanation. Asymmetry often refers to the imbalance between forces. It should relate primarily to the imbalance

between objectives and interests. This visual illustrates the point.

What this visual shows is that when a weak power has a vital interest at stake against a non-vital interest of a strong power, asymmetric warfare is likely to be successful. What this matrix shows is the reversal of the Melian dialogue which now becomes *'It is the weak who do what they can and the*

**Figure 2**

**Asymmetric Opportunities**

|  | Adversary Interest is non-vital | Adversary Interest is vital |
|---|---|---|
| Strong Power : Interest is non-vital | Lowest incentive for both sides | Best relative opportunity for greater use of asymmetric approaches |
| Strong Power : Interest is vital | Low incentive for weaker side | Dangerous situation |

*strong who suffer what they must'.* This reversed dialogue just about aptly describes the events of 9/11. At the same time I want to make it clear that the success of asymmetric warfare is its own downfall. What I mean is that, as asymmetric warfare becomes more and more successful, it begins to travel from what was formerly a non-vital interest for the strong power to its vital interest. Merely exploding a bomb in the garage of the WTC in 1993 was not hitting the vital interest of the USA - but 9/11 is a classical illustration of what asymmetric

warfare should not aim for. Osama's plans to kill American special forces in Mogadishu is a successful example. 9/11 and the attack on Pearl Harbour are striking examples of bad asymmetric strategy where the full fury of the stronger power was awakened by hitting its vital interests.

The fear that WMD would be the tool of asymmetric warfare was re-organised in the early nineties and certainly in the case of the USA, which took a number of measures aimed at reducing the risks to the USA from

WMD. These included measures as given in Table 1.

We will now take a closer look at the last point in the programme to master asymmetric warfare and that is the NMD.

## Table 1

| Measure | Objective |
|---|---|
| Co-operative Threat Reduction | Assist in the destruction of surplus nuclear weapons in the former USSR |
| Employment for USSR nuclear scientists | To prevent nuclear scientists from turning rogue – 17000 scientists re-employed |
| Conversion of USSR nuclear S&T facilities to peaceful uses | 17 factories converted to civilian use |
| CWC destructions | 32000 MT of CW assets destroyed |
| DOD/Customs Nuclear Materials interdiction programme | Trained Police and Customs officers of former East Bloc in detecting trafficking in nuclear materials |
| Militarily critical technologies list | The list consists of 3 parts. I are weapon systems technologies, II are WMD lists and III are developing technologies |
| Wassenaar Agreement | Export control of Dual use technologies |
| MTCR | Obvious |
| Australia Group | To harmonise the list of banned items between 30 countries to prevent BT and chemical proliferation |
| Nuclear Supplier's Group | Consisting of 30 countries. Governments export of dual use technologies |
| BTWT and CWC | Obvious |
| Ballistic Missile Defence | Covers TMD and NMD. Basically aimed at building four technologies. the TMD phase is almost complete |

You are all familiar with the ABM treaty and the reason why it was signed in the first place. As you know President Bush declared his intentions to withdraw from the ABM treaty early this month, and the reaction from Russia has been muted. Secretary Powell has already stated this aspect on 16 December. The Russians agree that the two powers will have to cooperate to go below the 2500 weapons limit of START II. The NMD is definitely going to be built – but what will it be? This is a visual of what is available in open literature. The special assistant to the President of the USA was in Delhi on 18 December 2001 and he was queried about what the NMD would actually look like.

### Table 2 : NMD Capabilities

| Architecture | Capability One | Capability Two | Capability Three |
|---|---|---|---|
| IOC* | 2005 | 2007 | 2010-2015 |
| Threat | Simple penetration aids | Sophisticated penetration aids | |
| Ability to intercept | 5 warheads plus simple decoys | 15 warheads plus simple decoys or 5 warheads plus 20 credible decoys | 50 warheads plus 5 simple decoys or 2 warheads plus 100 credible decoys |
| Ground based interceptors | 20 Alaska | 100 Alaska | 125 Alaska 125 Grand Forks |
| Upgraded early warning radars | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| X-Band radars | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| Space sensors | DSP+ SBIRS-High' | DSP SBIRS-High SBIRS-Low | SBIRS-High SBIRS-Low |
| In-flight interceptor communication system | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | FBP;" FY 1992-99* | Appropriations; FY-1992-99 | Appropriations; FY 1992-01 |
| Total BMD | 57 746 | 29 154 | 38 421 |
| NMD | 31 304 | 9 087 | 12076 |
| Other mainly TMD | 26 442 | 20 067 | 26 345 |

+DSP - Defence Support Programme

' FBP - Financial Backing for Programme

*IOC - Initial Operating Capability

'SBIRS - Space Based Infra Red System

What he did not confirm was that these would be the limiting parameters. He did confirm that NMD phase III would certainly be above the capability of all rogue states, but be well below Russia's capability - and that China's emerging arsenal will decide whether China is above or below this limit. But the assistant secretary did say something more interesting - and that is that before coming to Delhi he was in Beijing to brief the Chinese about their decision to abrogate the ABM treaty and the Chinese were quite calm about the implications of the NMD. It seems to me that the Chinese equanimity about NMD could only arise from the fact that the eventual Chinese arsenal will have a threshold well above the levels shown for the US NMD.

In any case I have been of the view that since TMD has already been successful and TMD is legally permitted, it was only a matter of time before the TMD capability leaked into NMD. The TMD limit had been placed at 5 km per second but some of the TMD missiles already have a capability well above this.

We need to examine the implications for international security raised by the successful implementation of TMD and NMD. TMD will make interventions in other parts of the world safer for the USA, and reduce the vulnerabilities of their forces to asymmetric warfare from the victim nations. In areas like South Asia where the induction of the S 300 will confer a TMD capability, there could be the beginnings of an arms race unless some talks on stabilising arsenals are attempted. The effects of the NMD are likely to have consequences for the world that are far more serious. At present the NMD looks at only a kill during the terminal phase. For this reason space assets are required to be only of the passive sensor variety, ie infrared. However,

as the capabilities of NMD progresses, the militarisation of space will inevitably take place. There are reasons for this.

NMD seeks to move away from mutual deterrence which is widely believed to have been successful during the Cold War. Deterrence was achieved as a result of many complex factors over a period of time. Admittedly, when the world has moved away from two power blocs, it may also have to move away from the old ideas of deterrence. But before the situation stabilises again we are in for much turbulence. This turbulence will be caused by one side seeking to overcome the perceived vulnerabilities of the other side and vice versa until a certain *status quo* is set up. The NMD at the moment is heavily dependent on space sensors, the vulnerability of which is still in question. For instance the present NMD requires that detection occurs when the launch takes place. This detection is dependent on a satellite which if interfered with will cause the NMD to collapse. Because of the indispensability of the satellite, it will sooner or later come under attack upon which it will take defensive measures. Thus will the militarisation of space grow. Many countries have seen this problem and raised the issue at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva. We need to look at the laws governing the militarisation of space.

### International Legal Implication in Space

- All international law applies to outer space. This includes the UN charter which forbids the use of space to settle disputes on earth.

- Outer space, the moon and celestial bodies are not subject to anyone's sovereignty.

- Outer space is for 'peaceful' uses only. This includes National Technical Means (NTM) used to verify treaty compliance.

- WMD is prohibited in outer space and celestial bodies.

- Development of space based ABM is prohibited. R and D of space based ABM is permitted.

- Interfering with a country's NTM is prohibited.

- All objects launched into space must be registered with the UN.

- Military weapons, bases and fortifications are prohibited in outer space.

These laws are quite vague. Whereas every nation has the right to have its own space assets as its National Technical Means, it also has the right to protect its own assets in space. Under these laws it is difficult to see how the militarisation of space can be prevented. The oft-repeated statement is that Desert Storm and Kosovo could not have been won without dominance of space. Similarly the war in Afghanistan is fought to a great extent with space assets. The military future of the USA is contained in the document *Joint Vision 2020* where its theme of dominant manoeuvre, and precision engagement to meet all the threats of asymmetric warfare has given rise to the US space command's Long Range Plan. The four broad aspects of this plan are :-

- Control of space.

- Global engagement.

- Assured access protection.

- Integrated focussed surveillance.

## THIRD SESSION : DISCUSSANTS

### AMBASSADOR AHMED HAGGAG

I set here my remarks as those of a layman. Seven years ago South Africa took a very courageous step by declaring its possession of nuclear weapons and wishing to disarm its nuclear capabilities. One major factor to note is that the West especially the US paid attention to this unilateral declaration on nuclear weapons; they did not have any trust in the black majority regime having nuclear weapons. It was expected of Mandela to renounce any nuclear aspirations; but even Mandela was not completely trusted.

### Chairman's Comments - Professor M Zuberi

I would like to make certain comments here. Even during Kennedy's time efforts were made to inspect the Israeli nuclear installations. And the American scientists' who went for inspection in Israel – it was referred to as the scientists' *visit* not *inspection* – it was decided that they would have two days discussion with the Israeli scientists and on Saturday – which is the Sabbath day for Israelis – in the afternoon they would be taken to the nuclear installations. They were not to be allowed to touch or see anything; they would be hurriedly escorted after which they (American scientists) would submit a report. This went on for two or three years. The scientists themselves expressed this to be a bogus exercise; and it was stopped.

Regarding South Africa, it became a party to NPT by signing it in 1991. In 1992, the IAEA inspected more than 70 sites in South Africa. They reported an absence of any diversion of material for nuclear weapon purposes. The very next year, the President of South Africa himself announced that from 1974, South Africa had a weapons programme and they had produced six weapons, and the seventh was in the process of being produced!

The reason he gave for announcing this in 1993 was that he did not want South Africa to be subjected to the kind of inspections going on in Iraq. But the fact is that later on the United States wanted to buy highly enriched uranium (HEU) from South Africa, and the latter declined. This is still with them and the scientists have said so. Hence it belongs to a peculiar category of non nuclear weapon states. It is the only one of its kind which was a nuclear weapon state and now a non nuclear weapon state which has not only produced nuclear weapons but is also dismantling them.

### BRIGADIER VIJAI K NAIR, VSM (RETD)

We seem to have definitely set the stage for a fruitful continuation of dialogue between India and Egypt on nuclear issues. All instruments, issues, mechanisms have been highlighted to a degree.

The dynamics of nuclear issues are affected by the dynamics of the biological, nuclear and chemical (BNC) components. This is what has emanated from the US when the threat was identified and a relook was undertaken on whether the nukes may or may not be used.

Each of these issues taken up has to be seen with a horizontal, vertical and actual forces on it related to every other issue in that category. Coming to a firm conclusion is not an easy task.

Major General Fayoumi has stated that the end of the Cold War did not bring an end

to deterrence. It is true, but with the linkage of the biological and chemical to the nuclear, the nature of deterrence has evolved beyond what it was during the Cold War era. Hence, when we talk of deterrence today, it depends on who is deterring whom and the capabilities –there are tremendous amount of variations in case of each force to be deterred.

The NPT has not moved in any direction regarding Article VI for more than three decades. But in 1995, there was an opportunity when the extension could have been provided with conditionalities. The linkages on political decisions being taken in all countries, including Egypt, in 1995, other than nuclear in the large framework, brings one to a certain decision. I suggest that the NPT has been extended unconditionally on 12 May 1995 and we are aware that in the first twenty five years of its existence, at no stage was Article VI ever looked at seriously.

I appreciate the General having brought into perspective tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs). This is an aspect in most discussions on nuclear weapons that is never discussed. The nuclear weapon states of the Cold War era believed in nuclear weapons as a weapon of war, for warfighting. TNW were part of the structures and systems of the military. There is no visible indication of its abrogation. All reductions in nuclear arsenal are in the realm of strategic weapons. TNW are more in number than the strategic weapons.

Once the military is mobilised, it moves with all the structures, and within their doctrine, which are going to be used in a war. Post 11 September 2001, the US has moved into Central Asia sans certain components of its organisational structure. The Presidential Directive categorically states that nuclear weapons and the Nuclear Posture Review

(NPR) could be used in response to the BNC component. A threat is not implicit unless the capability is.

It is not clear whether the ante on tactical nuclear weapons between India and Egypt has been dealt with. We could state that we have done away with it and then hear of the 'sub strategic' weapons, which are emplaced on Tomahawk missiles in the submarines in the Arabian Sea. Hence, tactical nuclear weapons (TNW) have been referred to as such at a certain stage because they were specific to a warfighting requirement. This is no longer true. All these have to be assessed in a discussion if we are serious on such an issue.

When one links chemical, biological and the nuclear, the best illustration of this is the Middle East syndrome, where one state is a nuclear weapons state; while certain other states have refused to give up their right to make it, if they have not already made C and B weapons. To confound the situation further, in a crisis a state other than the known nuclear weapon state declares its intention to respond in kind in case of a nuclear attack. We have a more messy situation than that which existed during the Cold War.

On the question of missiles, I do not see any possibility of being able to legitimise one class of missiles and deligitimise another category of missiles. If one is looking at countries which are now wanting to reduce bodybags and increase kill potential from a safe distance, and this becomes a universal norm, it still is wishful thinking to categorise missiles.

The mention of China as not being directly concerned with anti ballistic missiles (ABM), is a worrying factor. They are directly concerned with the ABM. When China

created and developed its nuclear weapons capability, its aim was to deter a particular force. If there is anything to impinge on this capacity to deter in the minds of the Chinese leadership, physically whether this happens or not is to be seen yet. Despite the Chinese making the right statements or moves one has to be aware of what options they have.

If one were to read China's White Paper on the Space Programme (November 2000) and read their Government's formal declaration on space warfare - whether there is a binding space treaty or not, it is clear that China is talking in terms of satellite kill capability.

Rear Admiral Menon's statement that political hostility backed by nuclear weapons exists only in Asia, is debatable. Hostility between countries does exist. And if those countries possess nuclear weapons, it is a part of it.

The other issue one may look into is the tripartite agreement between India, Pakistan and China. Rear Admiral Menon has very adroitly explained how it would work. However, one cannot see any future in negotiations, dialogues and so on. There could be only limited Confidence Building Measures and that too on some issues.

However, I do agree with Rear Admiral Menon that in terrorism, nuclear devices can not be manufactured without the assistance of state sponsors. It is interesting to note that the UN has frozen the assets of some of the organisations and declared them illegal.

As far as tactical missile defence (TMD) is concerned, as a complete package, it has some distance to go.

# THIRD SESSION : GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

## Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

If there is a threat of nuclear weapons strike, what security actions would Egypt take? Secondly, regarding the Palindaba Treaty; the Chairman has mentioned that South Africa has not totally dismantled or eliminated its nuclear weapons programme. Is there a consciousness in Africa of the potential of South Africa to rejuvenate the programme? South Africa has been at the forefront of NPT, its indefinite extension, and so on.

For the last four years there has been no discussion on any subject in the UN Conferene on Disarmament (CD) on matters of nuclear disarmament. The Chinese did raise the issue recently for a discussion but the Americans refused. In the CD there is no voting, it works on consensus. There are groups like G-21, West Europe, East Europe that is Russia and China, which have to be consulted for negotiations. Attempts have been made to break the logjam but the US is not keen that anything be discussed multilaterally.

## Lieutenant General BS Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

In the USA, 50 per cent allocated for Defence, 20 per cent to mettalurgical and 48 per cent aeronautical and other such aspects are totally devoted to Defence related research. It is in fact an effort to remain technologically ahead. In the process, they would probably come out with technology which would give them spin-off benefits by way of business and by way of knowledge. It is this which is the real threat.

## Lieutenant General YM Bammi (Retd)

Major General Fayoumi made out a case for TNW for the region, which could lead to miniaturisation of nuclear weapons for missile warheads. He also mentioned the threat from Israeli nuclear weapons arsenal - especially medium and long range missiles. There is a case here for ballistic missile on radar or NMD, at lower level, coming to the Middle East region providing protection against that. Further, there seems to be no agreement on withdrawal of TNW.

## Professor M Zuberi

There is no international agreement. The senior Bush, when President, unilaterally offered to withdraw TNW from forward positions in order to give Gorbachev an opportunity to withdraw Soviet TNW from Eastern Europe and other republics. They were withdrawn ultimately as hoped for.

## Lieutenant General V R Raghavan, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd)

My question to Major General Foyoumi is, whether in the future, it is possible to reshape negotiations on TNW? What is the extent of cooperation between the US, Israel and Egypt? The present US nuclear assistance to Israel is far greater than any assistance to Egypt.

## Major General Yashwant Deva, AVSM (Retd)

I feel WMD is too narrow in scope in view of the changes emerging in the international arena. The important word in WMD is 'mass'. 'Destruction' is another issue.

To this I would add certain other terms. Genome is the consequence of breaking up of human source code. Israelis have reportedly made an ethnobomb which when dropped would affect the genes of Arabs and not those of Jews. In certain countries, the military has control over such research in biospace. It is cost effective too. Most military aspects can be remotely controlled too. If Osama's Al Queda can understand 'virtual reality' nothing more needs to be said where others are concerned. They are trained as such. Psychological aspect counts. Cyber terrorism is also a mode of mass destruction. Technology is limitless. Chips that are having immense processing speed can be implanted in a human body.

Rear Admiral Menon mentioned that if platforms in space are incapacitated, NMD will collapse. On the contrary, in case one platform is disturbed, the NMD will not collapse. There will be alternatives. Their application is only getting windened.

### Rear Admiral KR Menon (Retd)

When the North-South Korean conflict was at its peak, the Americans threatened missile (TMD) strike on North Korea. TMD protection was guaranteed to Taiwan also when they faced a missile onslaught in the Taiwan Straits from China.

Secondly, on the NMD and the Chinese-Russian alliance after Shanghai 5 meeting; this needs looking into. Right from the time of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when the Syrian Army had broken through their defences, the Defence Minister of Israel had remarked to Golda Meir that in case of any further threats, nukes would be used.

Would, TNW or NMD help the cause of deterrence, or lower the threshold of nuclear exchange? Recently, the American Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, mentioned that even if the Russians were to MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle) it would not be a matter of concern. None of these countries would do anything that is expected of them, normally. It has been stated that China can MIRV. On the country, they have the MRV (Manoeuvrable Re-entry Vehicle) technology not MIRV.

NMD itself is obsolete, in the sense that this word is archaic. The correct term is Ground Based Mid Course Intercept. The NMD has got amalgamated. The US is going in for various systems. Missiles will be intercepted in the ascent phase, boost phase, mid course, and in the terminal phase. Even the difference between TMD and NMD no longer exists. All missiles have got integrated into one massive Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) programme.

### Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

In the context of regional security environments, if some 'friends' fall into the US-specified category and some do not, what would be the dynamics of Middle East and South Asian security.

Statements emanated from the USA that the NMD/TMD programme is not exclusive to the US but also includes 'friends'. These 'friends' included those outside the formal military alliances.

### Major General Moukhtar El Fayoumi

Nuclear weapons are a real threat. It is expected that Israel has more than 200 of these. We are trying to put pressure on Israel to adhere to the NPT and ensure peace between Egypt and Israel.

**Rear Admiral Raja Menon (Retd)**

Whatever the commodity in which the maximum amount of money is made in international trade, all have to pass through a lower end and a higher end. There is a tendency of late to get a very large section of equipment to be commercial off-the-shelves. Today, the technological revolution has bypassed the armed forces. Despite certain capabilities, the armed forces are acquiring a great deal of equipment.

Actually the successful TMD that will come forth will be the terminal phase interceptor type. The defence against missiles in the other two phases will be more effective but will take time.

The fastest object made by man today is the terminal phase of ballistic missile. For the first time, the aim is to shoot down an object with another object which is flying at a slow pace. The interceptor missile is flying at March 5-10 and incoming missile is flying at March 10-12.

Nuclear ambiguity will work best when the other side is a non nuclear entity. Nuclear ambiguity, asymmetry and possession of tactical nuclear weapons provide for one of the best fields of simulation. You cannot get out of an unfavourable conventional confrontation by resorting to use of nuclear weapons. To stop a TNW launched on an armoured formation, the numbers would go into strategic calculations.

**Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)**

I was dismayed when I realised that Egypt had totally given up the option of defending itself. Security is a priority. If Egypt feels threatened by nuclear ambiguity of a neihbouring, hostile country, some projection of defence is necessary.

**Professor M Zuberi**

As far as Israel is concerned, in 1976, a Chinese scientist flew to Britain and gave an interview to the *Sunday Times* with a sketch detailing what the Chinese had captured. The *Sunday Times* passed this on to some nuclear experts. It was found to be authentic. The scientist was hijacked from Italy to Israel. Since then he has been in solitary confinement, reportedly mentally deranged.

It is accepted that Israel has sophisticated arsenal between 100 and 200 weapons, which is more or less the same as that of Britain.

Regarding Egypt's support to NPT, it may be better if Egypt were to join India and others in disrupting the non proliferation regime; and one of the ways is through ballistic missile defence. It should be noted that the 'rogue' states listed by the US are all signatories to the NPT. This puts in doubt the effectiveness of the non-proliferation regime.

Egypt needs to raise its voice at one of the next conferences and state that the architect of nuclear regime is now doubtful about the regime's effectiveness. This is shown in the BMD and by counter proliferation. Non proliferation is the job of the State Department and counter proliferation is the job of the Defence Department. Hence the latter and BMD are the two planks of the American nuclear policy that indicate doubts about non proliferation regime's effectiveness. If the super power itself feels threatened, where does Egypt stand? Such issues can be raised at the next conferences.

During the Cold War, the term strategic nuclear weapons denoted those weapons which exploded in the US and the Soviet Union.

I agree with Rear Admiral Menon that so far as Russian reservations about BMD are concerned they are being moderated considerably. Now the Russians themselves are thinking that if one side raises its defence capability, the other side will have to raise the offensive aspect. This was accepted in the context of their earlier adversarial relationship. But now when both powers are no longer adversaries and still possess a large number of nuclear weapons it may impact elsewhere.

Regarding China, their thinking is changing. There are two areas of anxiety. One is the possible technological breakthroughs – unexpected though it may be but which may occur because of massive investment in R and D. All European countries and major powers are concerned about this.

The other point of concern is the space. The National Technical Means (NTM) has been monitoring the arms control agreements. However, weaponisation of the state, which is inevitable, will raise global qualms. It is estimated in the US that by 2020, about 2000 operating satellites will orbit the earth. Much of this will be tied to commercial and civilian applications. A space warfare could create havoc for space dependent commerce.

The failure of a satellite in May 1998 resulted in the US pagers going dead, affecting 37 million users while petrol pumps and retail shops were unable to verify credit card transactions. This is the sort of impact of weaponisation of space on global commerce. It has been stated that the real objective of BMD is space domination. As far as the shape of this programme is concerned, I consider that the most important contribution will be made by scientists within the US some of whom are Nobel laureates. They are pitted against each other.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the first of debates was raging in the USA in the context of strengthening nuclear deterrence. The second debate was in the 1980s regarding Star Wars. The difference was that here was a debate to delegitimise nuclear deterrence. The third debate is now on. The US Congress has passed the National Missile Defence Act. Differences do persist. The determining factor will be the domestic debate in the USA.

# BILATERAL RELATIONS INCLUDING JOINT EFFORTS FOR REVIVAL OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

## FOURTH SESSION

Chairman      : **Ambassador Omran El-Shafei**

*First Paper*   : Shri Rakesh Kumar

*Second Paper*  : His Excellency Mr Gehad Madi

*Discussants*   : Air Marshal Bharat Kumar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)
Mr Tarek Fahmy Mohamed Ismail

## CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS : MR OMRAN EL-SHAFEI

I would like to express my appreciation to the USI of India for having made a success of this Seminar. I have the pleasure today to introduce to you two speakers on the issue of bilateral relations between India and Egypt and the joint efforts of revive the NAM. The first speaker is Mr Rakesh Kumar, Joint Secretary West Asia/North Africa desk. The second speaker is HE Mr Gehad Madi the Ambassador of Arab Republic of Egypt to India.

## FOURTH SESSION : FIRST PAPER
### SHRI RAKESH KUMAR

India has historically enjoyed good relations with Egypt. These relations are deep-rooted, and based on common civilisation bonds. It goes to the credit and foresight of our founding leaderships that they recognised so early the gains to each other, and to the developing world, of close Indo-Egyptian ties. This was because they represented the aspirations of a newly independent people, who had been subjugated, and who were impatient to rediscover their civilisational past and heritage, and assert their rightful place in the emerging global order. Saad Zaglul and Mahatma Gandhi's exchange of correspondence was followed by the joint vision of Nasser and Nehru which gave birth to the Non Aligned Movement. We are proud of that era of our relations.

India and Egypt share many similarities. Both are major countries in their respective regions, with a commitment to a pluralistic, tolerant society, are heirs to the greatest civilisations of the world, and through the millennia, have been linked by trade routes, and mutually reinforcing cultural influences. In the modern world, we aspire to the same goals of equitable and sustainable development, a world free from political and social injustice, and a world where sovereignty and dignity of nations is considered an asset and not a challenge to be overcome by those claiming to be architects of a new world order.

If realism rather than nostalgia and sentiment is adopted as a criterion for judging the state of play of bilateral relations, one must come to the conclusion that the level of interaction between India and Egypt in virtually all fields of human endeavour is a ground for optimism, not pessimism. It would be worthwhile to do a stock taking of where our relations currently stand in different fields.

**Political**

India's political relations with Egypt continue to be accorded a high standing in India's foreign policy. The reasons are self-evident. We have had an excellent tradition of exchange of high level visits through the decades. In the last ten years, for example, two of our Prime Ministers have visited Egypt in 1995 and 1997. Besides, the leaders have been meeting regularly on the sidelines of major international conferences, including at the UN. India has recognised the important and pivotal role played by Egypt in the Middle East, and the personal contribution made by President Mubarak for world peace, reflected in the awarding of the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding. In February 2001, the External Affairs Minister paid a useful and productive visit to Egypt, where he held discussions with the entire political leadership of Egypt. The visit led to the establishment of understanding on several regional and international issues. There was a clear understanding on both sides of the need to move bilateral relations to a higher level of political commitment, better understanding of regional issues and intensive cooperation in the international arena. We also have an institutionalised mechanism of Foreign Ministry level consultations, with a round having been concluded in New Delhi in December 2001 itself. The last two rounds were held in February 1999 in New Delhi and

March 2000 in Cairo. Such regular contacts are essential to nurture this relationship and carry it forward.

Geo-politically, Egypt sits at the gateway of three continents: Africa, Europe and Asia. In spite of the end of the Cold War, the world still remains a volatile place with regional conflicts that have international dimensions and repercussions. As a major member of the international community, India looks to Egypt as a force for peace and stability, directly through its central role in the Middle East peace process and as a supporter of principles which India shares in the international arena.

It is this background which provides the basis for the close cooperation between India and Egypt in multilateral fora such as NAM and the UN. On issues of crucial importance such as environment, disarmament, terrorism, trade, reform of the UN, etc. our views are not just similar or identical, but more importantly, our official delegations remain in constant touch with each other to coordinate, to compare notes, and to provide the leadership through which the developing world tries to increase its effectiveness in dealing with these issues. Before the WTO-Seattle Ministerial meeting for instance, there were as many as four rounds of consultations between India and Egypt, including at the ministerial level. Similarly, prior to and at the Doha Ministerial meeting, our countries closely consulted each other in their capitals, in Geneva, and elsewhere with satisfactory results.

India's relations with Egypt are a critical element of our approach to the Arab world. These relations are historical, deeply rooted with people-to-people contacts and cooperation in the political and economic

fields. India has lent unwavering support for the Arab cause and Palestine over five and a half decades and continues to do so. In fact, in the past two years, there has been a proliferation of contacts between India and the Arab world, which has strengthened this relationship. The contacts are wide ranging and involve a large number of countries, agreements on political consultations, exchanges, joint ventures, and trade and investment. Oil and gas purchases have also been signed and are being implemented. There are also high-level visits to and from the Arab world. The External Affairs Minister has visited Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt and the Palestinian territories recently. We are confident that the strategic relations between India and the Arab world will continue to gain strength as a result of these contacts.

India continues to help the Palestinian people in their reconstruction and has pledged material assistance to them in various multilateral donor conferences. India has also provided extensive support to projects in the Gaza Strip and the Jawaharlal Nehru Library at Al Azhar University. The Mahatma Gandhi Library at the Palestine Technical College in Dir-Ae-Bulah was inaugurated by the External Affairs Minister in June 2000. We have also provided extensive support to the PNA in human-resource development and concerning stability in the region, and India is ready to contribute and support politically, morally and materially in every possible way.

**Commercial and Economic Relations**

Both India and Egypt accord the highest priority to developing commercial and economic relations, for the obvious reason that this is the most important area that directly benefits the people of both countries.

Both are liberalising economies, giving increasing importance to free market policies and the private sector. Both governments have therefore decided that progress in this crucial area of cooperation must be spearheaded by the private sector on both sides, with the government playing the role of facilitator.

The Indo-Egyptian Joint Commission was established in September 1983 to promote bilateral cooperation for mutual benefit in agriculture, economy, trade, industry, education, health, culture, consular affairs, tourism and science and technology. Its first meeting was held in New Delhi in November 1985, the second in Cairo in October 1988 and the third in April 1997 in New Delhi. Apart from the meetings of the sub-committees of Trade and Economy, Agriculture, Science and Technology, Culture and Human Resource Development, several agreements including agreement on Foreign Office Consultations, Air Services, Protection and Promotion of investments, establishment of a Joint Business Council between FICCI, ASSOCHAM on one hand and the Federation of Egyptian Chambers of Commerce on the other, were also signed.

India has a very successful Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme in Egypt. Nominations for various courses and training programmes have focussed on smallscale industries, computer hardware and software development and training in the financial sector. The number of beneficiaries from Egypt who come to India for training under the ITEC Programme from 1986 to March 2001 is 101.

An Indo-Egyptian Joint Business Group has been set-up, largely composed of representatives of the private sector, specifically to discuss concrete initiatives in terms of trade, joint ventures, investments, etc. The first such meeting, a very successful one, took place in Cairo in May 1999 and the second meeting will be held in New Delhi in the year 2002. Egypt's membership of COMESA, the Euro-Mediterranean Agreement about to come into force, Egypt's free trade zones – all these offer opportunities for Indian investors to set up joint ventures in Egypt.

Egypt has traditionally been one of India's most important trading partners in Africa. The total level of bilateral two-way trade is about half a-billion US dollars, with the balance tilted only slightly in India's favour. However, while India exports a variety of commodities to Egypt, most of Egypt's exports to India are petroleum and petroleum products.

A draft agreement for a Preferential Trade Agreement was given to the Egyptian side in May 2001 . We believe this is the best and most efficient way to increase the trade volume between the two countries, and to exploit the complementarities.

The Partnership Agreement between India and Egypt was initialled in Cairo on 17 May 1999. This is an umbrella Agreement to enable private sector firms in India and Egypt to enter into mutual negotiations for purposes of direct trade or investment, so that the level of economic exchanges can be enhanced. The focus is on bilateral industrial cooperation for setting up of joint ventures with built-in exchange of expertise. The Agreement has yet to be signed.

There is a substantial presence of Indian projects and Joint Ventures in Egypt. India is the 13th largest foreign investor in Egypt with a total project investment of approximate $330 million in 43 projects. There

are seven more Indian joint ventures registered with the Egyptian Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade. Indian investment will more than double if the Chambal Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited of India decides to invest in Egypt. The total investment in the project is estimated at more than $ 450 million. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) has already been signed with the Egyptian Gas and Petroleum Corporation in March 2001 on purchase of gas.

There are a number of MOUs between Indian and Egyptian companies including an MOU between the Egyptian National Railways (ENR), Social Fund for Development (SFD) and the Rail India Technical and Economic Services (RITES) for the development of Small and Medium industries in manufacturing and services sector of the ENR, as also between the Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL) and Metallurgical Industries Corporation (MICOR), Egypt, for setting up a National Industrial Technical and Management Training Centre in Egypt.

Indian participation in Egyptian trade fairs in getting more and more frequent, but one must note that the same is not the case in terms of Egyptian exporters actively wooing the Indian market.

One of the most promising new areas of cooperation that has emerged in recent years is information technology. India has already an impressive track record in this area, whereas Egypt is well placed to do the same. A number of commercial contacts have already been initiated, and should lead to fruition soon.

At present, the economic climate is favourable for creating further opportunities. Both countries have undertaken positive steps towards restoring macro-economic imbalances and liberalising trade and investment. Strengthening export promotion schemes, removal of quantitative import restrictions, and gradual elimination of tariff protection were the main components of the trade reform programme that were implemented in the past few years. These measures, which reflect serious government commitment to trade liberalisation, would broaden the export base and stimulate economic efficiency in both countries, providing a proper environment for bilateral trade relations. Also, Egypt's commitment to privatisation and keenness to remove institutional constraints would substantially improve the business environment, enabling foreign companies operating in the country to take full advantage of current investment incentive schemes.

To maximise future gains from increased Indo-Egyptian trade and investment relations, supporting services are needed. These include increasing information and management consultancy services, business delegation visits, joint-committees, trade exhibitions, investment missions; improving transport facilities, particularly airline services, and financial institutions.

## Cultural Relations

The people of our two countries have known each other for a very long time. During the reign of the Pharaohs there were well-established trade relations between India and Egypt. Historians of commercial contacts have prepared a long list of items which were traded between the two countries. Some have suggested Egyptian mummies were wrapped in Indian muslin! The other amazing aspect is the similarity in some of the myths – the gods and goddesses representing the life-giving rivers, the concept of the Trinity, the

lotus flower sacred to Osiris and to Buddha, and the indestructible human soul referred to as *atma* in India and *ka* in Egypt.

These cultural and intellectual links between the Arabs and Indians were once described by Jawaharlal Nehru as the "golden bonds". When Arabic became the language of Muslim religious teaching, it was learnt and cultivated by a large number of Indian scholars. They did an immense amount of writing in Arabic. There are several important religious institutions in India such as Darul Uloom in Deoband, Nadwat Al Ulema at Lucknow, and Jamia Milia Islamia in Delhi, which impart education in Arabic to thousands of Indian and foreign students. Among modern Arab writers Taha Hussein, Khalil Gibran, and Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz have been translated into many Indian languages.

To promote and foster these abiding links, India and Egypt signed a Cultural Agreement in 1958 and the first Cultural Exchange Programme was signed in 1973. The Programme provides for exchanges in the field of education and science, arts and culture, mass media, social affairs, health, tourism, youth and sports and manpower.

The Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Centre for Indian Culture was established in 1992 in order to give a much wider exposure to Indian culture in Egypt. Since its inception it has acquired a high reputation in the cultural and intellectual circles of Egypt. It has a well stocked library of more than 5000 volumes which is widely used by the Egyptians, including many research scholars from different Egyptian universities in addition to members of the Indian community. The Centre organises regular yoga classes and regular courses on Hindi, Urdu and Indian cuisine.

## Science and Technology

This is an area where cooperation has grown, but much more needs to be done, and can be done. Cooperation in this field commenced in 1964 and a new agreement on scientific and technological cooperation was signed between the two countries in October 1995. This envisaged the implementation of joint research and developmental projects, exchange of scientists, participation in scientific conferences etc. It also envisaged the establishment of a Joint Committee on scientific and technological cooperation. A large number of workshops and joint research projects have been regularly taking place between the two countries, including in the area of agriculture, which is of the highest importance to both countries.

## Defence

Cooperation in the defence area was at its peak in the 50s and 60s. Subsequently, these became less active from the 70s onwards. Of late, contacts and cooperation have picked up once again. During former Prime Minister Mr Narasimha Rao's visit to Egypt in October 1995, and that of former Prime Minister Mr I K Gujral in October 1997, both countries reiterated their intention of increasing defence cooperation. During the visit of the Indian Chief of the Air Staff in March 1996, the Egyptian side made a suggestion for the formation of a joint Egypt-India Military Cooperation Committee to examine the possibility of mutually beneficial cooperation.

In 1999, the Secretary, Department of Defence Production of the Government of India visited Egypt, during which a number of proposals were discussed including procurement of defence equipment, supply of spares by India for fighter aircraft, upgradation of tanks, etc. A visit of experts from Hindustan

Aeronautics Limited of India led to an MOU covering various hi-tech areas such as avionics, as well as the provision for training for producing defence oriented software. Senior level Egyptian delegations have also visited India and have been exposed to our capabilities in various defence sectors. The Egyptian Minister of State for Military Production is expected to visit India in the next few weeks.

## The Future and the Need for Political Consultations

All that has been said illustrates the range and diversity in bilateral relations between India and Egypt. The need to intensify political consultations is self-evident in an increasingly globalised and interdependant world where a host of issues of importance need constant coordination, exchange of information, particularly as many other developing countries look to India and Egypt to provide a leadership role in tackling these issues, whether they are regional or multilateral. Besides official consultations, contacts should be developed and institutionalised at the non-governmental level, as exemplified by this Seminar to provide another plank to support normal governmental interaction, and as a method for producing new ideas, broadening areas of agreement and narrowing differences.

Coming now to the Non Aligned Movement, it is relevant to recall that when the movement was first launched by the initial founders India, Yugoslavia, Egypt, even then the relevance of the Non Aligned Movement was questioned and has been raised ever since. India continues to believe in the continuity and relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement. We will continue as a grouping of the have-nots of the world. This grouping continues to have relevance. These are certain issues on which India and Egypt can make joint efforts to revive the Movement.

We need to take concrete action on the call made at the Durban Summit for an international conference with the objective of arriving at an agreement on a phased programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, so that the challenge of nuclear weapons can be dealt with in the same manner that we have dealt with the scourge of two other weapons of mass destruction, through comprehensive and non-discriminatory treaties.

We have also not been able to tackle the problems perpetrated by the global "uncivil society" namely terrorism, trafficking in narcotics, illegal arms trade and other trans-national crimes. Poverty and underdevelopment continue to be the central and critical challenges facing the majority of our members and we cannot be reconciled to this as our perennial fate.

Globalisation is another important issue to be taken up by the Movement. Both India and Egypt stand on the same side of this issue. In the WTO, we are both members of the "Like Minded Group" of countries. We both believe globalisation must imply a sharing of the benefits of progress in different fields for the greatest good of the greatest number and not for the benefit of the already privileged alone.

Terrorism is the very antithesis of what the Movement represents. Terrorism is the greatest global menace of our age. In this age of democracy, it is a violation of its basic precepts. Because its principal targets are the innocent, it is a crime against humanity and the most flagrant violation of basic human

rights. It is now a grave threat to international peace and security. We are concerned about the illicit transfer, manufacture and circulation of small arms, particularly by states to non-state actors and terrorist groups, and their intrinsic linkage with terrorism and narco-trafficking. These, combined with religious intolerance against the precepts of all faiths and military adventurism, have produced a volatile and explosive mix. The Movement should work to strengthen the international consensus and legal regimes against terrorism. We have proposed a comprehensive international convention against terrorism, while Egypt has proposed a Conference on Terrorism. There is need to synchronise both these initiatives and take them to fruition.

There have also been some discussions of the new doctrine of "humanitarian intervention". The doctrine that is being propounded is bound to erode the fundamental, time-tested principles of inter-state relations such as non-interference in one another's internal affairs and respect for sovereignty. It is also not clear as to whether those who claim the 'right' of humanitarian intervention will also abide by the 'obligation' of humanitarian intervention to uplift exploited and historically marginalised societies, irrespective of whether it suits political, economic and strategic interests at any given point of time.

Finally, both India and Egypt should rededicate themselves to the fundamental values and principles of the NAM. These remain constant as the bedrock of our aspirations, despite the optics of a rapidly tansforming world. We need to ensure that decisions affecting us are taken with our active and effective participation, and taking full account of interests and concerns. Such decisions cannot be left to be taken by others in forums where we have no effective voice. Reaffirming solidarity will help us to reach common understanding on the challenges confronting the Movement today. We need to unite behind positions in collective interest on core issues relating to international security, global nuclear disarmament, opposition to international terrorism, human rights, trade, technology, environment and development. Only by evolving collective responses through concerted and co-operative action can we hope to realise our aspirations. India and Egypt can best contribute by setting the agenda for ourselves, and the UN, and not let others set it for us.

## FOURTH SESSION : SECOND PAPER

## AMBASSADOR GEHAD MADI

I am honoured to speak on bilateral relations between the two countries. It is most comfortable for me when I am articulating about Indo-Egyptian relations. I do not think that after spending three and a half years in India, mingling with an extremely vibrant and highly intellectual society, I need a written text to speak on Indo-Egyptian relations. I am glad to share the dais with Joint Secretary West Asia/North Africa, Mr Rakesh Kumar. In fact it is unusual for any Ambassador to spend his entire tenure dealing with one person as the head of the desk of his country, in any given country! Mr Rakesh Kumar preferred to stay in India, which was to our advantage. He makes my task easy with his thorough and comprehensive exposé about our bilateral relations. I fully subscribe to what he has just mentioned about the level of the bilateral relationship. The future of Indo-Egyptian relations has to be promoted by us, together, on the official, intellectual and academic levels. When it comes to relations between India and Egypt, the sky is the limit.

On the political level, we do not have any problems between the two countries. We may have some incompatible views on certain issues, but these have never, and will never reach a level of friction. However, one can agree or disagree on certain issues. These differences are not given prominence and throughout our intensive contacts and dialogues we have reached conclusions that see eye to eye. Political contacts and continued dialogues are one of the most essential factors in relations between two countries; where it concerns India and Egypt. Many countries look to us for guidance and approach. We have to do our best to give it – not out of indulgence but out of responsibility

in our respective regions and within the international community at large. The importance that is accorded to India is incomparable to that accorded to any other country. We look to India as a partner. This is a word that is used more for economic and trade relations. But I use the term here to denote the political level of relations too and our joint approach. Our relations with India are the best that Egypt has with the third world community, apart from our relations with some Arab countries particularly, our immediate neighbours, and beyond when it comes to issues of national security as such. India is most important politically, economically and otherwise. The Nasser-Nehru era has been oft referred to but our relations go even beyond this to the times of King Ashok, nearly 2000 years ago. One instance is of Egyptian mummies being wrapped in Indian material.

India and Egypt have contributed in the 50s, the 60s and the 70s to changing the world map by helping the third world countries to gain their freedom and independence from the colonial harness. Circumstances were different then. A few months ago, the world metamorphosed overnight. We are now embarking on a tremendously changed perception, approach and way of thinking about how to deal with new realities which are yet to be identified. We do know how 11 September 2001 happenings began; we do not know how they might end.

There are issues where both of us can contribute to the world, and as Mr Rakesh Kumar said, we should not allow others to set the agenda for us. This is now an issue of survival and continued presence in the world theatre. Another issue is that of humanitarian

intervention. We have to intensify our cooperation in this respect; we see eye to eye on this matter. If this notion and what is really behind it is going to be implemented at a certain given time – we are still away from implementation of those criteria and principles, which lead to such intervention. A beginning has to be made now.

Our two countries have close cooperation and coordination when it comes to issues like the WTO. We could not have made it alone in Seattle without such a cooperation with India as well as other like-minded countries. In Doha, we built on acceptable results; though one cannot gain nor have maximum needs met, at the same time we succeeded in not giving maximum concessions. We need to build on what was achieved in Doha.

In the field of economy and trade, we are scaling new heights. We are experiencing unprecedented success though the volume of trade has touched only about half a billion dollars. The balance of trade as Mr Rakesh Kumar pointed out is slightly in India's favour. To trade now with any country does not need governments or embassies; trade can be done through the internet. When it comes to the most durable economic relations, it is the field of joint ventures where we have achieved immense success. Indian investments in Egypt are 330 million dollars. And for this jointness sustained relations are necessary. Joint ventures are in the fore for identifying new markets. Jointly, we can tap new markets and benefit. Due to prevailing circumstances in Egypt and in India, I am glad to say, that in 2002 some projects in the pipeline will be agreed upon. Indian investments in Egypt in the form of joint ventures would reach almost one billion dollars.

India is positioned at number 12 in the list of investors; when these projects are completed they would be positioned at third or fourth place. We have already opened new markets through free trade with many Arab countries and our partnership agreements with the European Union. All these markets are open to indigenous Egyptian products. There are no restrictions regarding these product vis-à-vis customs.

Mr Rakesh Kumar referred to the Nehru-Nasser era as the golden period of Indo-Egypt relations. Now is the golden opportunity to make the relations most beneficial to both countries. In January 2002, India will be receiving the strongest ever economic delegation from Egypt. There will be four ministers and a host of prominent businessmen who will be in Bangalore to attend the annual Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) Summit and then come to Delhi to meet their counterparts at the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and have political meetings too. The Foreign Office consultations have already taken place along with discussions of two other delegations – and this includes the environmental delegation.

We now move ahead with an open mind; economic relations can make or break any relations and we have to see how the two countries can stand together to face challenges. We need to prepare for them. What we really need is a further dissemination of information about the potential of both countries for the future. We have the political will and more importantly the goodwill of people of both countries.

My mission in India is easy as even before arriving, I had the necessary support in India being an Egyptian. The same is true for the Indian envoy in Egypt. This is not so in Egypt's relations with any other country. In a nutshell, this is the status of our relations and we have to build on that in order to reach new horizons.

## CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS : AMBASSADOR OMRAN El-SHAFEI

Before we move on to the Discussants, I would like to go over the main points mentioned by our two speakers on the subject of Indo-Egyptian relations. I greatly appreciate Mr Rakesh Kumar for stating that the relationship between our two countries is historic and has been always positive. He also referred to the frequent exchanges and visits between the two countries. He referred to the institutionalisation of visits between the two foreign ministers and the consultations between the two countries.

Ambassador Madi has subscribed to what Mr Kumar has said and reiterated and that is the lack of political problems between the two countries except for certain minor differences in views. I very much like his expression when he stated that the relations between the two countries are limitless. The aspect of terrorist strikes, he stated, has to be fully explored. The speakers gave us a truly positive picture of the relations between the two countries.

## FOURTH SESSION : DISCUSSANTS
## AIR MARSHAL BHARAT KUMAR, PVSM, AVSM (RETD)

International relations is the field of diplomats, as a soldier I would say something distinct. The relations between the two countries, if one has read the book *Return of the Aryan,* dates back to around 400 BC or so, when the Aryans had come to India and later moved back to Egypt. Today, as the dominant actors of their regions they have a substantial role to play. It is indeed interesting to assess how the common man perceives the relationship between the two countries. It is not trade alone that he looks to. There are, in my view, two criteria: the first is Defence relationship. What is the relationship between the two Armed Forces? The second is the political one. How often do the respective Heads of States visit each other? Our relations, according to the speakers, are good. In my view they can be strengthened further. They have somehow not come up to my criteria of good relations. Further, on NAM, it dates back to 1947 when the Afro-Asian Conference was held in Delhi. Many of those countries that were yet to be decolonised participated there. Even Tibet was there. This was followed by the Bandung Conference in 1955. It condemned colonialism as a means of cultural oppression and defined it as the subjection of people to alien *subjugation, domination* and *exploitation.* This reappeared in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514, after five years. Sir John Kotewala, stated the existence of another form of colonialism other than Western colonialism, about which most of us are not clear and to which perhaps some of us would not apply the term colonialism. There are certain states under communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe. They are as much colonies

as are the colonies in Asia or Africa. If we are united in our opposition to colonialism of the former kind, should not our opposition apply to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism? Chou-en Lai opposed this definition of colonialism. The Chinese Constitution opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. It states its support for unity and strength of people of other countries and supports the oppressed and developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence.

In the present day world we have the sole super power, the USA, and the European Union, undertaking 'humanitarian interventions' as a matter of habit the United States of America. Is this the mode of colonialism of the present?

From 25 members when the NAM came into existence to the present when we are 113, NAM had preserved the attitude of positive neutralism. It did not suggest that the states were neutral. They on the contrary were active participants in international affairs and took a strong stand on a number of international issues. This is a trait that is missing now. All changed at the Cairo Conference in 1964. For the first time the focus was on economic development and cooperation. Further changes were visible with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The collapse of the erstwhile Soviet Union and change in status of Eastern Europe resulted in further changes. In the 80s, skeptics generally believed that the NAM had become ineffectual, passive and disunited. The end of bi-polarity had heralded an end to the very reason why NAM had been formed, said

another group. In my view, the movement will neither die, nor will it be disbanded. It has to adapt and change. This was reiterated at the 1989 Belgrade Conference of NAM, in 1993 at Jakarta and recently, in South Africa. In the background of international economic upheaval, the movement is confronted with the reality that a grouping that is numerically strong but represents dominantly poor states like ours has much less influence than, for example, the G-7. The need for unity is now greater. Globalisation has provided greater opportunities only for the developed few. What countries like India and Egypt face is greater marginalisation. To avoid this we need a united and strong voice, common forum and ability to stand up to the big powers. We tried this in Doha. The Charter of the United Nations, as Ambassador Gharekhan stated, permits that if two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly pass a vote, the resolution is binding. The 113 countries of NAM represent more than two-third. He stated that there are three cases where the resolutions are mandatory: two-third votes for it; or people who represent two-third of the population; and the third is the two-third of those contributing to the UN. In Doha, it was a consensus. But pressures, political or otherwise, compelled the states to move away from the initially taken stand. The NAM has to address the issues that face them, together. In the age of communication and globalisation silence is not the answer.

## TAREK FAHMY MOHAMED ISMAIL

Indo-Egyptian relations are very old. The two countries have always strengthened these relations through political and economic cooperation. Over the past five and a half decades, India has supported the Arab-Palestinian issue. She has supported the freedom movement. Our relations with India have gone beyond the historical dimensions as the leadership from the times of Nehru and Nasser have established personal friendship.

**Roots of Mutual Relations**

The two countries have over a period of time signed many friendship and cooperation protocols which have now finally led to concluding some agreements regarding investment, encouraging tourism, exchange of information and scientific research besides the military cooperation between the two countries. India has always taken positive stands vis-a-vis the Arab issues and very specially the Arab-Israel tussle and the Arab international relations. India voiced in 1947 in no uncertain terms her opposition to the division of Palestine and accepting Israel as member of the UN. However, without prejudice to her stand, India recognised Israel in 1949 without establishing with it any direct political relations. It was only in 1992 after the Madrid Peace conference that India announced establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

India recognised the Palestinian Authority and a representative office was opened in 1996. India's views have been very clear about the Israeli aggressions of the occupied territory, Lebanon and Syria. The two countries have had an integrated view of the non-aligned movement and the developments caused by the historical happenings around the world which the two countries have witnessed, specially the fall of the Soviet Union in the nineties and the US assuming sole super power status. Ever since the two countries have held different views about handling the non-alignment movement taking into consideration the structural changes that have taken place in the World Order. Egypt holds the view that the non-aligned movement should be merged with the

Group of 77 in order to represent the countries of the South. Egypt feels that the movement has turned into a mere slogan. It does not necessarily mean that the principles of the non-aligned movement would change. They will certainly continue to be effective and deep rooted in the international relations. Egypt feels that non-aligned movement should respond to this change as a need of the time and not as an option. Whereas India feels that the non-aligned movement should continue to play its political role which binds together the developing countries to achieve their goals. She also feels the movement should work to modify its thoughts and principles without being nullified or merged and specially so because the world dependency continues to exist. Infact, it is not the non-aligned movement only which is being discussed between the two countries. They are also discussing the issue of arms control. It has become absolutely necessary to impose comprehensive ban on all those countries which possess nuclear arms. It was Egypt's President Mubarak who had for the first time voiced the idea of arms control. Egypt had made it very clear that she will not sign any agreement banning chemical weapons unless Israel becomes a party to NPT agreement. As regards India, it has become a nuclear power. The Jammu and Kashmir problem continues to be a difficult matter between India and Pakistan. Egypt had offered mediation. Undoubtedly there are matters that would require discussions. India's stand vis-a-vis Egypt as member of the forum of the Indian Ocean Countries, which Eygpt joined in 1999, and the quantum of economic cooperation and the Egyptian investments in India, are matters that can be discussed. And of course the Indo-Israeli relations cause Eygpt to ask questions because the trade exchange between the two countries, has reached a gallopping 993 million dollars in 1999. It is of course difficult for Egypt to ask India to bridle its relations with Israel keeping in mind the Arab-Israeli cooperation. India can also ask questions about the Arabs working to strenghen their relations with China and Pakistan to suit their interests including their overt support for Pakistan against India vis-a-vis the Jammu and Kashmir issue, or about employing the work force or the quantum of external trade.

In view of increasing trade relations between the two countries and the escalation of the balance of trade in favour of Egypt, it is necessary that the two countries work out a new developmental and economic strategy by formulating an Indo-Egyptian Council and discuss the point of balance with a view to revive the role of the non-aligned movement that should keep in mind the requirements of each country even if it necessitates the restructuring of the movement or convening a historical conference to discuss and pinpoint the additions and omissions in the Indo-Egyptian relations in the future.

In view of tremendous changes in world order and the beginning of the American confrontation with the new enemy – terrorism – time has come when we should ask ourselves about the role of the non-aligned movement and the role that India and Egypt should play. We should also ask questions about the emerging world order, regional order and relations between the small and big countries. Let us ask whether India shall be impacted by the war destructions in Afghanistan and whether or not this would affect Egypt.

## Horizons of Indo-Egyptian Relations

### On the Economic Front

• At present Indo-Egypt relations can go beyond the Nasser-Nehru legend, that needs

would dictate the imperative of going beyond the golden period in the history of the relations of the two countries, to further relations in the light of the contemporary visions.

● There is need to create follow-up mechanism consisting of leading Indian and Egyptian business persons including representatives of the private sector. So far Egypt is guilty of having done nothing in this regard. The Indian side has always complained about the absence of the Egyptian business persons in India whereas the Indian business persons have always been present in the Egyptian market. India also has complained about absence of Egyptian investment in India.

● As regards establishing a free trade zone in Egypt and India, a proposal has been pending consideration. The proposal requires reducing custom tariff to zero on certain specified items which are important for both the countries. We know that India had sent a list of such items. However, she has not as yet received any such list from Egypt.

● India works to organise periodical meetings of the Indo-Egyptian joint commission and it is expected that the next meeting of the commission shall be held in 2003.

● Permanent presence of Israel in the balance of Indo-Egyptian relations (quantum of trade with Egypt is 300 million dollars and with Israel one billion dollars).

● Absence of a system or organisation that would attract investments and projects between the two countries (there are 90 to 100 joint projects between India and Israel).

● India complains of non-participation by Egypt in Indian trade fairs on a suitably large scale. On the other hand there is close cooperation between the Indian industries and those of Israel. India has allowed opening of a permanent Israeli office for trade and economic activities.

● Absence of direct airlink between the two countries despite existence of joint projects (last in the series is the joint project to establish a cement factory in Egypt at an estimated cost of half a billion dollars).

**On the Political Front**

● Egypt calls for merging the non aligned movement with the Group of 77 so that it can represent the countries of South. It feels that the movement has now become an empty slogan. Egypt believes that change is inevitable. India believes that the movement should continue to play its role without getting merged. It should continue to work hard to establish a just world order.

● President Mubarak has floated an initiative to control arms in the Middle East and prevent its diversion towards a region which is void of weapons of mass destruction.

● Egypt's stand vis-a-vis military cooperation with India is one of developing joint military capabilities and sending of delegations for possible nuclear cooperation.

● There is no crystalisation of public opinion in India vis-a-vis the Palestinian issue despite India's historic role, whereby India voted against the division of Palestine in 1947. She refused to accept Israel in the UN though later she recognised Israel in 1949 and established diplomatic relations in 1992. In his last visit to Israel (during which he also visited the territories of the Palestinian Authority), the Indian Foreign Minister did balance or adopt the usual Indian stand in his statements.

## Scope of Joint Agreements

### Paying Attention to Cooperation

● Indian investors have no complaints regarding their investments in Egypt and a number of projects which have started bearing fruits.

● There are three million Indians working in the Arab countries. Arab countries are an important source for India for fertilizers and petroleum.

● There have been visits of business persons, cultural persons and Information persons (there is need to organise non official meetings).

● Visit of an Indian delegation from Federation of Indian Industries to Egypt has been scheduled in 2002.

● Activating the performance of the Indo-Egypt Council and organising meetings of Indo-Egypt commission is being pursued.

### Bilateral Horizons at the Political Level

● India should try to balance its military and political commitments vis-a-vis Israel and the Arab countries (Indians say that some Arab countries now coordinate with Israel and they have established trade relations with it).

● India must not transfer its nuclear technology to another country in the Middle East; it should work to balance its position in Asia.

● India supports President Mubarak's call to hold an international conference on terrorism. Egypt supports the Indian initiative to conclude an international agreement to fight terrorism.

● Indo-Arab cooperation in the field of preventive technology. The Egyptian businessmen can make their entry in this fertile field.

● India and Egypt support enhancement of the UN Security Council and call for a new world order.

● Agreements on developing the non-aligned movement based on new principles and thoughts, and a mechanism should be created to take care of the Egyptian and Indian requirements under the current world order.

### Activating the Non-Aligned Movement : Indo-Egyptian Joint Role in International Relations

● Utilising international alliance against terrorism and giving a new image to the Movement that would take care of the requirements of each country within its regional boundaries.

● Convening a conference either in India or in Egypt to revive the Movement under the current circumstances.

● Ascertain feasibility of a possible role for non-governmental organisations of the two countries in the backdrop of historical role of the Movement with the current dimensions of contemporary international order.

● Reviving the Indo-Egyptian coordination through the Group of 77, the Security Council and meetings of the UN General Assembly (tying up India with the Arab Group).

● Work to revive the diplomatic role at the level of heads of states between Egypt and India. This alone can bring to fore the realities of the golden period of Indo-Egyptian relations. Each side should re-arrange its priorities now.

## FOURTH SESSION : GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

**Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)**

Mr Rakesh Kumar mentioned about Indo-Egypt Defence relationship, could you elaborate as to what sort of relationship you are looking at? Air Marshal Bharat Kumar mentioned about positive aspects of the relationship between the two countries, however, unless the crunch issues are addressed, we will not achieve the purpose for which we have got together. The relations between India and Egypt are not at the level they could or should be. Is there a scope for improvement? And if there are some limiting factors or stumbling blocks, we should identify item.

**Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)**

I am happy that the relations between the two countries have improved. But, as Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar said these are nowhere near what they should be. My question is addressed to Mr Rakesh Kumar. Post 11 September 2001, there were consultations between the two countries. Could you tell us as to what was discussed? What was on the agenda? Further, India has consistently been supporting the Arab cause. Is that how Egypt sees it? Is Egypt supporting India's interests? Was terrorism discussed?

Regarding India's relations in the Defence arena, India has developed relations with whichever country serves its national interests though not at the cost of relations with Egypt or Arabs.

**Rear Admiral R K Menon (Retd)**

The most authoritative Islamic theological school in the world is in Egypt and one cannot ignore its importance and role. The most prestigious Islamic school in India is the Deobandi School. The Pakistanis have had no small role to play in setting up of madarsas. There are various Islamic reform movements going through the Indian subcontinent at the moment. The majority of Pak Army officers are keen on following the Tablighis. These Tablighis have large number of international conferences which have attracted people from as far West as Algeria and as far East as Indonesia. Probably, another channel could be opened in which Egypt could play a major role because of the extreme respect Egypt has in the Islamic world.

I wonder if religious discourses could be initiated in exchange. The person most expected to go and convince the Taliban not to destroy the Bamiyan, was the Dean of Elijah in Egypt. In this controversy of state versus society, or religion versus society, Egypt could take the initiative as their religious set up probably carries more weight than any political initiative.

**Ambassador Ahmed Haggag**

There is a lot of avenue for betterment of Indo-Egyptian relationship; and sky is the limit. NAM is not seen by many in Egypt as the champion of their interests. The same may be true in India too, where the people are concerned. We are sure India thinks many times before it makes known its stand on the Middle East. India too may feel that Egypt is not being as close as before. I hope that more free and frank discussions between India and Egypt will take place in identifying differences of opinion and sorting them out. One more aspect that has not been looked into is the

cultural relations. This is one avenue of cementing relations.

### Lieutenant General B S Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

A paper has come from the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) in the UK titled "Islamic Impulse". Why do we have to hide from the press what is happening in the Arab world? Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia took some initiatives in 1996. There is a need to regulate funds and work out how the money is to be collected, which comes in the name of religion. Further, it has also to be worked out as to how much portion of this money would the religious groups get. All this has been done to a great extent. In the 70s, the Arab states felt very vulnerable to terrorism, but from 1980 onwards they became quite capable of handling it. What were these measures that had been taken? They were selective measures. We would like of know what were the strong points of terrorism?

### Mr Abdel Halim ElMahgoub

We have a very strong infrastructure but there is a new generation in the forefront unaware of our stages of development. And there are many new happenings in the world. We want to know and understand these. We need to have others know what and how we think and we need to know what you think.

### Commander Radhakrishnan

References have been made to cooperation between the two countries. Some thirty eight years ago, when I had gone for a staff course in Wellington, there were several officers from Egypt. Lately, there have been only a couple of them. Things have changed drastically since the days of the NAM. When Britain, France and Israel had invaded Egypt, India stood by Egypt. Probably Egypt is looking more Westwards now than before. Perhaps it will be unrealistic to expect a going back to the heydays of Indo-Egypt relations.

### Major General Y K Gera (Retd)

A number of terrorist organisations were affiliated to Al Queda. Except for three from Pakistan and one from Afghanistan, a majority of them originated in the Arab world. How united is the Arab world? Though most terrorist organisations have been banned, they still have financial backing and continue to operate. How do they flourish and what should be done is unclear. What are the lessons to be learnt?

### Mr Rakesh Kumar

We had some very ambitious programmes in the 60s and the 70s. But we need to move ahead as the Director of the USI has said. What we may be able to get from Egypt is assistance regarding spare parts, joint exercises and so on. We have to be moderate and realistic in our actions.

The defence of our countrymen is our supreme responsibility and we have to ensure that they are secure. Our purchases from Israel were for genuine Defence needs on the same pattern as from South Africa, France, Russia and so on. If possibilities of procuring our Defence needs from Egypt were there we would not have hesitated. The Chief of the Air Staff visited Egypt a couple of years back. Global issues including international terrorism, WTO, humanitarian intervention and so on were discussed during the visit.

### Ambassador Gehad Madi

I understand your concerns which grow

from the background peculiar to India. Many of you would have been happy if there had been military cooperation between our two countries. But one has to look at the situation as it exists on the ground. We have diversified most of our military purchases. Most items belong to the commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) category. There are a small number of these items where restrictions apply. The issue is why one can make purchases from one country and not from the other? For some time now Egyptian delegation has been to India to study the possibilities of embarking on cooperation in the Defence field. During the visit of Egyptian Minister of State for Military Production, a number of these aspects are proposed to be discussed. We have identified our areas of interest. This cooperation is a matter of trade and commerce and not an issue of hard politics like before. However, the political leadership may help where it is a matter of sensitive hi tech weaponry.

There is a perception in India that the Arab world is opposed to India having relationship with Israel. On the contrary, this is the sovereign decision of India. What would concern Egypt is when and if Indo-Israeli relationship has an adverse affect on Egyptian national security. Reports are there from the Indian and Israeli media about some sort of nuclear cooperation. During his visit to Cairo, Minister of External Affairs, Mr Jaswant Singh, stated that this was not so. At the official and the intellectual levels, we have to keep clarifying each other's stance. There are no 100 per cent perfect relations between any two countries. Sometimes there are sensitive issues to contend with. What is needed is for both sides to rise above their sensitiveness and to continue discussing such issues. There is no problem anywhere in the world, not even within one family that starts as a problem; it is a situation. We seek to have cooperation in the educational and cultural field also. The Indian Government should provide facilities for the establishment of such structures for cooperation.

**Ambassador Omran El Shafei**

This has been a useful and informative response. This Seminar has been a very fruitful exercise.

# CLOSING REMARKS

### MR RN ABHYANKAR
SPECIAL SECRETARY (EAST), MEA

# VOTE OF THANKS

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL SATISH NAMBIAR, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (RETD)
DIRECTOR USI

# CLOSING REMARKS

## MR R N ABHYANKAR

In one of the seminars, replying to a query put to him as to why there was no unity amongst Arabs, Mr Tariq Aziz stated that the Arabs have *solidarity* but no *unity*. I am happy that this Seminar was held, which was the second in a series of three different events that are occurring during a period of a month or so. We have had the Foreign Office consultations on 27 December 2001. There will be a delegation of a few Ministers coming in January 2002 from Egypt.

Apart from the niceties, there is a need to isolate the irritants in the relations between the two countries and search for ways to solve them. There is a need for a conscious effort to do this not only because of the vast amount of political capital that was invested since the time of the former Prime Minister Nehru and the NAM, but also because we regard Egypt as the primary source of a lot of Arab culture. This is a country that can interpret India's secularism; it can interpret how the second largest Muslim population lives in India fully amalgamated in the nation. It can highlight this aspect to the rest of the Arab world.

Nothing brought home this point so starkly than the last Foreign Office consultations, when I found that most of the Arab world did not condemn or respond to the 13 December 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament. Fully aware of India's support to the Palestinian cause, which has been a cardinal point of India's foreign policy, the reaction from the Arab world was disappointing.

India, Egypt and now the entire world of nations is engulfed in the quagmire of terrorism. We are as yet unable to take a common stand or agree on condemning what has happened. We have agreed to pursue further comprehensive financial and international counter terrorism measures that we sponsored way back in 1996. These got bogged down on the issue of definition. We have to consult with the concerned experts from Egypt in order to see whether we can work out ways to protect our basic interests. I look forward to those consultations because that is one way to restart the process of a relationship not only for mutual benefit but it would also benefit the Arab world.

Ironically, it is the political 'will' that moves faster than the economic progress that the two countries make. But in our case, it is just the opposite. On the economic side, the situation is healthy. We have 33 joint ventures with Egypt. India is the 13th largest foreign investor in Egypt. Maybe the two countries can do more in frontier technology or the cutting edge technology.

The other aspect that requires attention is the Non Aligned Movement. It has been mentioned by one of the speakers here that the level of dedication to NAM seems to be on the downslide due to the changed international scenario. But then what is non alignment all about? It is the position of being capable of taking an independent stand. Even the new agenda on the plate of the international community does not have any set rules right now. There is no better time than now for India and Egypt to consult and work out common ways towards this rule making by using the NAM and by using the forthcoming

Summit in Amman. All this could perhaps mobilise the Indo-Egypt relations toward a new way of looking at our bilateral relations.

### Ambassador Omran El-Shafei

You have mentioned that not many Arab countries have expressed concern on the happenings of 13 December 2001 in Delhi. As a member of the delegation of the NCMES, I thank you for mentioning it. It is a very important point. We have been exposed to various kinds of terrorism across the board. But it is not clear whether there is a requirement for each state to come out independently to condemn the terrorist acts publicly. It could also be expressed within the ambit of diplomacy.

# VOTE OF THANKS

## LIEUTENANT GENERAL SATISH NAMBIAR PVSM, AVSM, VrC (RETD)
### DIRECTOR USI

It remains for me to firstly thank Mr R N Abhyankar for talking to us at the concluding stage of the Seminar. I say this on behalf of all members of the United Service Institution of India. It has been an extremely rewarding experience for all of us. I must compliment Ambassador Shafei and his colleagues for the intensity of their participation and the free and forthright exchange of views. The friendships that we develop in the process, we hope will stand the test of time. Also I thank the Ambassador of Egypt in India for facilitating the process and I do hope this will continue in the years to come.